



8-2007

Cigarette Papers: Cigarette Advertising and Promotion in College and University Student Newspapers, A Case Study of *The Orange and White* at The University of Tennessee

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Recommended Citation

Crawford, Elizabeth Crisp, "Cigarette Papers: Cigarette Advertising and Promotion in College and University Student Newspapers, A Case Study of *The Orange and White* at The University of Tennessee. " PhD diss., University of Tennessee, 2007.
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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Elizabeth Crisp Crawford entitled "Cigarette Papers: Cigarette Advertising and Promotion in College and University Student Newspapers, A Case Study of *The Orange and White* at The University of Tennessee." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Communication and Information.

Ronald E. Taylor, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

J. Eric Haley, Margaret Morrison, Timothy Hiles

Accepted for the Council:

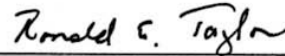
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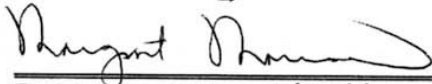


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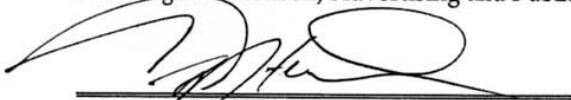
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**CIGARETTE PAPERS: CIGARETTE ADVERTISING AND PROMOTION IN
COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY STUDENT NEWSPAPERS, A CASE STUDY OF
THE ORANGE AND WHITE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE**

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

**Elizabeth Crisp Crawford
August, 2007**

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all of the faculty members who helped me complete my Ph.D. in Communication and Information. Specifically, I would like to thank Dr. Ron Taylor for serving as my advisor and committee chair. I would also like to thank Dr. Eric Haley for teaching me the qualitative methods needed to perform this study. I would like to thank Dr. Margie Morrison for helping to familiarize me with the tobacco industry. And, I would like to thank Dr. Tim Hiles for being willing to serve as the Art faculty member on my committee. In addition, I would like to thank Dr. James W. Neuliep at St. Norbert College for encouraging me to pursue graduate studies and Dr. Joyce Wolburg at Marquette University for inspiring me to attend the University of Tennessee. Lastly, I would like to thank my family, especially my parents, and friends, whose encouragement made this work possible.

ABSTRACT

This historical dissertation discusses the relationship between cigarette advertising and student publications at colleges and universities across the United States. This study uses *The Orange and White* at the University of Tennessee as a case study. Cigarette advertisements were printed in student publications from the 1920-1921 academic year to the 1963-1964 academic year and provided a needed source of revenue for student newspapers. This research examines the tactics and strategies that the tobacco industry used to target youth in the absence of federal legislation. This dissertation is divided into five chapters, which explain in detail the relationship between student publications, the tobacco industry, and federal legislators such as the FTC. The chapters also look at the pervasiveness of cigarette advertising in student newspapers on campus.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Purpose of the Study.....	4
Current Research on Advertising and Tobacco.....	5
History and Mass Communication	9
Text Analysis and Methodology.....	14
Texts Used for this Research.....	16
Organization of this Study.....	21
II. AN OVERVIEW OF SMOKING AND TOBACCO USE AND PROMOTION	25
Early History of the Cigarette Industry in the U.S. and the Tobacco Opposition.....	26
The Tobacco Industry and Advertising Regulation.....	45
III. THE TOBACCO INDUSTRY AND THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY.....	52
Tobacco and University Life	52
Student Publications.....	58
What is Expected from the Campus Newspaper?.....	64
Funding the Campus Newspaper	67
Student Newspapers at The University of Tennessee.....	75
Tobacco Experiment Stations at Universities in the Southeast.....	78
IV. THE FTC's ROLE IN ENDING TOBACCO ADVERTISING IN STUDENT NEWSPAPERS ON COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES.....	81
College Newspapers and Cigarette Advertising.....	82
Tobacco Litigation and the Formation of the Tobacco Institute.....	85
The Tobacco Industry, Federal Regulations and the FTC.....	89
Finally, a Victory for the FTC?.....	117
V. RESULTS FROM THE STUDY OF <i>THE ORANGE AND WHITE</i>	121
Research Models.....	121
General Frequency Information for The Orange and White from 1920-1963.....	127
Cigarette Advertising in the <i>Orange and White</i> during the 1920s.....	129
Advertisements Published in the <i>Orange and White</i> during the 1920s.....	132
Cigarette Advertising in the <i>Orange and White</i> during the 1930s.....	140
Advertisements Published in the <i>Orange and White</i> during the 1930s.....	142
Cigarette Advertising in <i>The Orange and White</i> during the 1940s.....	150
Advertisements Published in <i>The Orange and White</i> during the 1940s.....	152
Cigarette Advertising in <i>The Orange and White</i> during the 1950s.....	157
Unfiltered Brands Advertised during the 1950s.....	159
Filtered Brands Advertised during the 1950s.....	166

Menthol Brands Advertised during the 1950s.....	170
Cigarette Advertising in <i>The Orange and White</i> from 1960 to 1964.....	171
Unfiltered Brands Advertised during the 1960s.....	173
Filtered Brands Advertised during the 1960s.....	175
Menthol Brands Advertised from 1960-1963.....	177
 VI. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	180
 Popular Cigarette Advertising Themes in <i>The Orange and White</i>	180
The Influence of Legislation on Advertising Appeals.....	200
Research Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research.....	205
Conclusion.....	207
 VII. REFERENCES.....	209
 VIII. APPENDIX.....	217
 IX. VITA.....	350

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure #		Page #
1	Figure 1: Taylor's Strategy Wheel	217
2	Figure 2: Issues Published Each Decade From 1920-1963	217
3	Figure 3: Advertisements by Decade	218
4	Figure 4: Total Number of Cigarette Advertisements by Decade	218
5	Figure 5: Top 12 Cigarette Advertisers 1920s-1960s	219
6	Figure 6: Major Cigarette Advertisers 1920s-1960s (Unfiltered)	219
7	Figure 7: Major Cigarette Advertisers 1920s-1960s (Filtered)	220
8	Figure 8: Creative Strategy – 1920s-1960s	220
9	Figure 9: Number of Cigarette Advertisements 1920-129	221
10	Figure 10: Brands Advertised During the 1920s	221
11	Figure 11: Cigarette Brands by Percent – 1920s	222
12	Figure 12: Creative Strategy During the 1920s	222
13	Figure 13: Creative Strategies by Percent	223
14	Figure 14: Persuasive Appeals and Tactics – 1920s	223
15	Figure 15: Appeals and Tactics by Percent – 1920s	224
16	Figure 16: Men and Women in Advertisements in the 1920s	224
17	Figure 17: Chesterfield 1921	225
18	Figure 18: Chesterfield 1927	225
19	Figure 19: Chesterfield 1928	226
20	Figure 20: Camel 1921	226
21	Figure 21: Camel 1926	227
22	Figure 22: Camel 1927	227
23	Figure 23: Camel 1929	228
24	Figure 24: Fatima 1923	228
25	Figure 25: Pears' Soap 1911	229
26	Figure 26: Fatima 1924	229
27	Figure 27: Old Gold 1927	230
28	Figure 28: Old Gold 1928	230
29	Figure 29: Old Gold 1929	231
30	Figure 30: Old Gold 1930	231
31	Figure 31: Old Gold 1930	232
32	Figure 32: Old Gold 1930	232
33	Figure 33: Total Cigarette Advertisements by Brand – 1930	233
34	Figure 34: Brands of Cigarettes – 1930s	234
35	Figure 35: Creative Strategy by Year – 1930s	234
36	Figure 36: Creative Strategy by Percent – 1930s	235
37	Figure 37: Advertising Tactics by Year – 1930s	235
38	Figure 38: Advertising Tactics by Percent – 1930s	236
39	Figure 39: Camel 1931	236
40	Figure 40: Camel 1931	237
41	Figure 41: Camel 1932	238
42	Figure 42: Camel 1933	238
43	Figure 43: Camel 1934	239
44	Figure 44: Camel 1935	239

45	Figure 45: Camel 1936	240
46	Figure 46: Camel 1936	240
47	Figure 47: Camel 1937	241
48	Figure 48: Chesterfield 1930	241
49	Figure 49: Chesterfield 1931	242
50	Figure 50: Chesterfield 1931	242
51	Figure 51: Chesterfield 1932	243
52	Figure 52: Chesterfield 1933	243
53	Figure 53: Chesterfield 1934	244
54	Figure 54: Chesterfield 1935	244
55	Figure 55: Chesterfield 1936	245
56	Figure 56: Chesterfield 1937	245
57	Figure 57: Chesterfield 1937	246
58	Figure 58: Chesterfield 1938	246
59	Figure 59: Chesterfield 1939	247
60	Figure 60: Lucky Strike 1931	247
61	Figure 61: Lucky Strike 1931	248
62	Figure 62: Lucky Strike 1932	248
63	Figure 63: Lucky Strike 1934	249
64	Figure 64: Lucky Strike 1934	249
65	Figure 65: Lucky Strike 1935	250
66	Figure 66: Lucky Strike 1937	250
67	Figure 67: Old Gold 1932	251
68	Figure 68: Old Gold 1934	251
69	Figure 69: Frequency of Cigarette Advertising by Brand	252
70	Figure 70: Cigarette Advertising by Brand – 1940s	252
71	Figure 71: Strategy by Brand 1940s	253
72	Figure 72: Strategy by Percent 1940s	253
73	Figure 73: Advertising Tactics – 1940s	254
74	Figure 74: Tactics by Percent – 1940s	254
75	Figure 75: Camel 1940	255
76	Figure 76: Camel 1941	255
77	Figure 77: Camel 1941	256
78	Figure 78: Camel 1942	256
79	Figure 79: Camel 1947	257
80	Figure 80: Camel 1948	257
81	Figure 81: Chesterfield 1940	258
82	Figure 82: Chesterfield 1941	258
83	Figure 83: Chesterfield 1943	259
84	Figure 84: Chesterfield 1944	259
85	Figure 85: Chesterfield 1946	260
86	Figure 86: Chesterfield 1946	260
87	Figure 87: Chesterfield 1948	261
88	Figure 88: Phillip Morris 1943	261
89	Figure 89: Old Gold 1947	262
90	Figure 90: Raleigh 1947	262
91	Figure 91: Comparison of Advertising Across Three Classes of Cigarettes	263
92	Figure 92: Primary Unfiltered Cigarette Advertisers	263

93	Figure 93: Frequency of Advertising for Unfiltered Brands – 1950s	264
94	Figure 94: Primary Advertisers for Filtered Cigarettes – 1950s	264
95	Figure 95: Advertisers for Filtered Cigarette Brands – 1950s	265
96	Figure 96: Creative Strategy by Year – 1950s	265
97	Figure 97: Creative Strategy by Percent – 1950s	266
98	Figure 98: Creative Tactics by Year – 1950s	266
99	Figure 99: Creative Tactics by Percent – 1950s	267
100	Figure 100: Lucky Strike 1952	267
101	Figure 101: Lucky Strike 1954	268
102	Figure 102: Lucky Strike 1954	268
103	Figure 103: Lucky Strike 1954	269
104	Figure 104: Lucky Strike 1956	269
105	Figure 105: Camel 1951	270
106	Figure 106: Camel 1952	270
107	Figure 107: Camel 1954	271
108	Figure 108: Camel 1955	271
109	Figure 109: Camel 1956	272
110	Figure 110: Camel 1958	272
111	Figure 111: Chesterfield 1950	273
112	Figure 112: Chesterfield 1951	273
113	Figure 113: Chesterfield 1952	274
114	Figure 114: Chesterfield 1954	274
115	Figure 115: Chesterfield 1954	275
116	Figure 116: Chesterfield 1958	275
117	Figure 117: Phillip Morris 1951	276
118	Figure 118: Phillip Morris 1952	277
119	Figure 119: Phillip Morris 1956	278
120	Figure 120: Old Gold 1957	279
121	Figure 121: Pall Mall 1959	280
122	Figure 122: Winston 1954	280
123	Figure 123: Winston 1956	281
124	Figure 124: Winston 1958	281
125	Figure 125: L&M 1954	282
126	Figure 126: L&M 1955	282
127	Figure 127: L&M 1958	283
128	Figure 128: Viceroy 1956	284
129	Figure 129: Viceroy 1958	285
130	Figure 130: Tareyton 1955	285
131	Figure 131: Tareyton 1956	286
132	Figure 132: Tareyton 1960	286
133	Figure 133: Marlboro 1956	287
134	Figure 134: Marlboro 1958	288
135	Figure 135: Salem 1957	289
136	Figure 136: Kool 1960	289
137	Figure 137: Comparison of Advertising Across Three Classes of Cigarettes	290
138	Figure 138: Unfiltered Cigarette Advertisements - 1960 to 1963	290
139	Figure 139: Advertisements for Unfiltered Cigarettes – 1960 to 1962	291
140	Figure 140: Advertisements for Filtered Cigarettes – 1960 to 1963	291

141	Figure 141: Advertisers for Filtered Cigarette Brands – 1960s	292
142	Figure 142: Creative Strategy by Year – 1960 to 1963	292
143	Figure 143: Creative Strategy by Percent – 1960 to 1963	293
144	Figure 144: Creative Tactics by Year – 1960 to 1963	293
145	Figure 145: Creative Tactics by Percent – 1960 to 1963	294
146	Figure 146: Camel 1961	294
147	Figure 147: Camel 1961	295
148	Figure 148: Chesterfield 1961	295
149	Figure 149: Chesterfield 1962	296
150	Figure 150: Lucky Strike 1960	297
151	Figure 151: Lucky Strike 1961	298
152	Figure 152: Lucky Strike 1962	298
153	Figure 153: Pall Mall 1962	299
154	Figure 154: Pall Mall 1962	299
155	Figure 155: Tareyton 1960	300
156	Figure 156: Tareyton 1961	300
157	Figure 157: Winston 1960	301
158	Figure 158: L&M 1960	301
159	Figure 159: L&M 1962	302
160	Figure 160: Viceroy 1961	302
161	Figure 161: Viceroy 1962	303
162	Figure 162: Marlboro 1962	303
163	Figure 163: Marlboro 1962	304
164	Figure 164: Kool 1960	305
165	Figure 165: Salem 1962	305
166	Figure 166: Camel 1931 Career Advisors	306
167	Figure 167: Chesterfield 1933 Career Advisors	306
168	Figure 168: Camel 1935 Career Advisors	307
169	Figure 169: Chesterfield 1943 Career Advisors	308
170	Figure 170: Camel 1943 Career Advisors	308
171	Figure 171: Camel 1954 Career Advisors	309
172	Figure 172: Camel 1956 Career Advisors	309
173	Figure 173: Chesterfield 1958 Career Advisors	310
174	Figure 174: Chesterfield 1932 Matchmakers	310
175	Figure 175: Lucky Strike 1935 Matchmakers	311
176	Figure 176: Winston 1955 Matchmakers	312
177	Figure 177: Tareyton 1956 Matchmakers	313
178	Figure 178: Camel 1956 Matchmakers	314
179	Figure 179: Chesterfield 1955 Matchmakers	315
180	Figure 180: Old Gold 1928 Campus Cigarette	316
181	Figure 181: Lucky Strike 1954 Campus Cigarette	317
182	Figure 182: Chesterfield 1954 Campus Cigarette	318
183	Figure 183: Lucky Strike 1957 Campus Cigarette	318
184	Figure 184: Chesterfield/L&M/Oasis 1960 Campus Cigarette	319
185	Figure 185: Viceroy 1961 Campus Cigarette	320
186	Figure 186: Camel 1934 Study Buddies	321
187	Figure 187: Old Gold 1928 Smoking and Health	322
188	Figure 188: Lucky Strike 1932 Smoking and Health	322

189	Figure 189: Lucky Strike 1937 Smoking and Health	323
190	Figure 190: Camel 1937 Smoking and Health	323
191	Figure 191: Camel 1935 Smoking and Health	324
192	Figure 192: Camel 1936 Smoking and Health	325
193	Figure 193: Camel 1941 Smoking and Health	326
194	Figure 194: Camel 1948 Smoking and Health	326
195	Figure 195: Old Gold 1947 Smoking and Health	327
196	Figure 196: Chesterfield 1952 Smoking and Health	328
197	Figure 197: Chesterfield 1953 Smoking and Health	328
198	Figure 198: L&M 1954 Smoking and Health	329
199	Figure 199: Viceroy 1958 Smoking and Health	329
200	Figure 200: Old Gold 1934 Advertorials/Cartoons	330
201	Figure 201: Old Gold 1930 Advertorials/Cartoons	331
202	Figure 202: Old Gold 1935 Advertorials/Cartoons	332
203	Figure 203: Old Gold 1935 Advertorials/Cartoons	332
204	Figure 204: Camel 1933 Advertorials/Cartoons	333
205	Figure 205: Camel 1951 Advertorials/Cartoons	334
206	Figure 206: Camel 1952 Advertorials/Cartoons	335
207	Figure 207: Camel 1958 Advertorials/Cartoons	335
208	Figure 208: Winston 1958 Advertorials/Cartoons	336
209	Figure 209: Pall Mall 1962 Advertorials/Cartoons	337
210	Figure 210: Lucky Strike 1961 Advertorials/Cartoons	338
211	Figure 211: Marlboro 1962 Advertorials/Cartoons	339
212	Figure 212: Kool 1960 Advertorials/Cartoons	340
213	Figure 213: Chesterfield 1932 Promotional Advertising	341
214	Figure 214: Chesterfield 1932 Promotional Advertising	342
215	Figure 215: Chesterfield 1937 Promotional Advertising	343
216	Figure 216: Camel 1935 Promotional Advertising	344
217	Figure 217: Camel 1937 Promotional Advertising	344
218	Figure 218: Phillip Morris 1947 Promotional Advertising	345
219	Figure 219: Chesterfield 1948 Promotional Advertising	345
220	Figure 220: Phillip Morris 1952 Promotional Advertising	346
221	Figure 221: Lucky Strike 1931 Legislation	347
222	Figure 222: Lucky Strike 1937 Legislation	348

When Thorwald Dockstader – sophomore, epicure, and sportsman – first took up smoking, he did not simply choose the first brand of cigarettes that came to hand. He did what any sophomore, epicure, and sportsman would do: he sampled many brands until he found the very best – a mild, rich, flavorful smoke – an endless source of comfort and satisfaction – a smoke that never palled, never failed to please – a smoke that age could not whither nor custom stale – a filter cigarette with an unfiltered taste – Marlboro of course! Text from a Marlboro Advertisement, The Orange and White, 1963.

Chapter One: Introduction

Recent studies suggest that the ultimate goal of cigarette advertising past and present has been to target college students. A young audience is the natural target for tobacco companies because the majority of smokers start when they are in high school or college.¹ In spite of the industry's public arguments that its advertising efforts were aimed exclusively at brand loyalty and brand switching, their own internal documents contradict these claims.² This research demonstrates that cigarette manufacturers carefully studied and knowingly implemented marketing campaigns to attract young smokers at colleges and universities from the 1920s-1960s. Support for this research is found in industry documents that show the need and desirability of attaining a large share of the college student market and cigarette advertisements and promotions placed in student newspapers at colleges and universities across the nation, and more specifically *The Orange and White* at the University of Tennessee.

Before government entities such as the Federal Trade Commission, Food and Drug

¹ K M Cummings, C P Morley, J K Horan, C Steger and N-R Leavell "Marketing to America's youth: evidence from Corporate Documents" *Tobacco Control*, 11 (2002) pp. 5-17

Cheryl L. Perry, "The Tobacco Industry and Underage Youth Smoking: Tobacco Industry Documents From the Minnesota Litigation" *Archives of Pediatric and Adolescent Medicine*, 153 (1999) pp. 935-941.

John P. Pierce, Won S. Choi, Elizabeth A. Gilpin, Arthur J. Farkas, and Charles C. Berry "Tobacco Industry Promotion of Cigarettes and Adolescent Smoking" *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 279 (1998) pp. 511-515.

C. Everett Koop, David C. Kessler, and George D. Lundberg "Reinventing American Tobacco Policy: Sounding the Medical Community's Voice" *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 279 (1998) pp. 550-552. Richard W. Pollay; S. Siddarth; Michael Siegel; Anne Haddix; Robert K. Merritt; Gary A. Giovino; Michael P. Eriksen "The Last Straw? Cigarette Advertising and Realized Market Shares among Youths and Adults, 1979-1993" *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 60, No. 2. (Apr., 1996), pp. 1-16.

² K M Cummings, C P Morley, J K Horan, C Steger and N-R Leavell "Marketing to America's youth: evidence from Corporate Documents" *Tobacco Control*, 11 (2002) pp. 5-17

Cheryl L. Perry, "The Tobacco Industry and Underage Youth Smoking: Tobacco Industry Documents From the Minnesota Litigation" *Archives of Pediatric and Adolescent Medicine*, 153 (1999) pp. 935-941.

Administration, and the U.S. Surgeon General began to take an interest in cigarette advertising, the tobacco industry was able to market its product as much as it pleased. Because a young market, that included college students, was the industry's primary target, it used publications that targeted teenagers and young adults to promote cigarette smoking. The tobacco industry had the complete liberty to market its product without warnings or restraints.

One of the primary vehicles that the tobacco industry used to target students was the college newspaper. Financially strapped and desperate for advertising revenue, student newspapers were eager to accept advertising dollars from the tobacco industry. The campus newspapers' national sales representatives sold large amounts of advertising space in student publications across the nation to cigarette companies that were eager to attract new college-aged smokers. Both the national advertising representatives and the tobacco industry made handsome profits from the arrangement while some struggling student papers barely earned enough revenue from the advertising sales to print the extra pages that the tobacco industry required for their large advertisements.³

The issue of cigarette marketing is of public concern because cigarette smoking is a major preventable cause of serious chronic disease. Medical research has clearly demonstrated that nicotine is an addictive drug, arguably in the same category as morphine, amphetamines, and cocaine. Although a variety of factors can influence a person's decision to smoke (e.g., parents who smoke, having friends who smoke, low self-esteem), researchers are beginning to recognize the role that print advertising plays. Studies have recently

³ James C. Crimmins *Successful Publishing on the Campus* (New York: New York: Newsweek Inc., 1968) p. 71.

concluded that frequent exposure to cigarette advertising significantly increases the likelihood of starting a smoking habit.⁴

Very few references in the scholarly literature are made to cigarette advertising and promotion on college campuses. However, from the large number of advertisements found in college newspapers and internal industry documents, it appears that these publications were an important marketing venue for the cigarette industry. Therefore, this research will fill lacunae in the current scholarship on cigarette marketing and promotion.

In addition to filling gaps in the research, the history of tobacco marketing on campus is an important piece of mass communication history. First, this history shows how a powerful advertising force, such as the tobacco industry, can influence a relatively weak collegiate press and undermine its goal of serving the student body's best interest. Secondly, it serves as a clear demonstration of the tobacco industry's goal to target young adults. Lastly, the advertisements demonstrate the tobacco industry's high level of sophistication in creating persuasive messages that appealed to young people and spoke to their needs and concerns.

Therefore, primary focus of the research will be examining the role that cigarette advertisements placed in student newspapers on college campuses played in persuading millions of college students across the nation to start smoking. The advertisements in the campus newspapers are of particular interest because they are a blatant example of how the tobacco industry in the United States was trying to persuade generations of young Americans to start smoking. In addition to being an obvious example of the industry's interest in the young adult market, the advertisements show the persuasive tactics and strategies that the industry used in the absence of any significant government interference. In addition, this

⁴ Katherine Hawkins and Audrey Curtis Hane "Adolescents' Perceptions of Print Cigarette Advertising: A Case for Counteradvertising" *Journal of Health Communication* 5 (2000): pp.83-84.

research will explore the political maneuverings that the tobacco industry engaged in to prevent the FTC from removing or regulating the advertisements and the enactment of an agreement that led to their removal from the student press in 1963.

Purpose of the Study:

The topic of cigarette advertising has been a popular subject of research in many fields of study including mass communication, business, political science, and public health. A basic concern has been the role of cigarette advertising in stimulating demand. Cigarette smoking reached the height of its popularity between the 1950s and the 1970s. Given that reaching a youth and young adult market was the industry's goal, it seems useful to examine the print advertisements that helped to persuade a generation of Americans to smoke.

This research reveals how cigarette companies' promotional campaigns targeted college students. College and university newspapers were the primary media vehicles for this market. From the 1920s to the early 1960s cigarette companies were lucrative advertising sponsors. Their advertising comprised approximately 40 percent of the national advertising in most campus newspapers. Advertisements played an important role in creating and reinforcing a culture in which smoking was seen as being glamorous and sophisticated, enjoyable and pleasant, rugged and masculine (or chic and feminine), and symbolic of independent thinking or coming of age.⁵ This research also demonstrates how cigarette advertisers refined their product's image to appeal to college students.

In order to examine this problem, the research will use *The Orange and White*, the student newspaper at The University of Tennessee, as a case study. Although there are a variety of factors that make *The Orange and White* unique, the advertisements found in the newspaper are the same as would be found in any major college or university. Tobacco

⁵ Steve Craig and Terry Moellinger "‘So Rich, Mild, and Fresh’: A Critical Look at TV Cigarette Commercials, 1948-1971." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 25 (January 2001): p.55.

industry media placement records show that the same advertisements were placed in nearly every college and university newspaper in the nation.⁶ Tobacco companies were major advertisers in campus student newspapers from the 1920s until 1963 when the FTC forced the tobacco industry to discontinue its tobacco advertising in student publications.

In addition to providing a general introduction to the dissertation, the remainder of this chapter will provide a review of the current research on advertising and tobacco, an overview of the study of history in the field of mass communication, a review of textual analysis methods, and a description of the documents and other texts used for this research.

Current Research on Advertising and Tobacco:

The topic of young adults and/or youth and smoking is a popular area of research among marketing, advertising, and mass communication scholars. Smoking is an area of interest because of the public health issues related to tobacco use, the age restrictions, and the limitations placed on tobacco marketing. In addition, cigarettes are among the most heavily advertised products in the United States.⁷ Some of the subject areas that have received a significant amount of scholarly attention include: where advertising placement such as magazines, billboards, the retail environment, or product placement in movies; cigarette marketing strategies and branding; the psychology of youth and young adult smoking; smoking regulation; and anti-smoking campaigns. However, very little research takes a historical approach to studying cigarette advertising that targets young people.

Many researchers look at tobacco related advertising in magazines. For instance, a variety of studies examine the frequency of youth exposure to cigarette advertising in

⁶ "Lucky Strike, Luckies Taste Better, Favorite Checker Contest, Tune-in, Light Up A Smoke Light Up A Lucky, the Best Tasting Cigarette You Ever Smoked, Get the Honest Taste of A Lucky Strike, Tobacco and Taste Too Fine to Filter, 1956 - 1959". 1956. Bates: ATX01 0147220-ATX01 0147734.

<http://tobaccodocuments.org/atc/60233809.html>

⁷ "US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Current trends in cigarette advertising—United States, 1988." *MMWR* (1990) 39: pp. 261–5.

magazines.⁸ Similar studies investigate whether cigarette brands popular among adolescent smokers are more likely than adult brands to place advertisements in youth-oriented magazines or magazines with high adolescent readerships. Another study examines how adolescents attend to the product warnings found in cigarette advertisements that often run in youth or young adult oriented magazines. In addition, magazine advertising research studies specific kinds of cigarette advertising such as promotional advertising featuring information relating to premiums, retail value added promotions, or coupons. Other studies examine the specific persuasive appeals and images that are used to sell cigarettes in magazine advertisements.⁹

Although the magazine is the most popular medium for scholarly research related to cigarette advertising, scholars have also examined other media. For instance, many advertising researchers look at the impact of billboards. Like magazine advertising, some scholars examine the types of social cues that were used on billboards in an attempt to persuade young people to start smoking. Other research looks at the demographics of the

⁸ Dean M. Krugman, Margaret A. Morrison, & Yongjun Sung “Cigarette Advertising in Popular Youth and Adult Magazines: A Ten-Year Perspective” *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing* 25 (2006) pp. 197-211.

Linda G. Pucci and Michael Siegel “Exposure to Brand-Specific Cigarette Advertising in Magazines and Its Impact on Youth Smoking” *Preventive Medicine* 29, (1999) pp. 313-320.

Linda G Pucci and Michael Siegel “Features of sales promotion in cigarette magazine advertisements, 1980-1993: an analysis of youth” *Tobacco Control* 8 (1999) pp. 29-36.

⁹ Dean M. Krugman, Margaret A. Morrison, & Yongjun Sung “Cigarette Advertising in Popular Youth and Adult Magazines: A Ten-Year Perspective” *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing* 25 (2006) pp. 197-211.

Dean M. Krugman and Karen Whitehill King “Teenage Exposure to Cigarette Advertising in Popular Consumer Magazines” *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing* 19 (2000) pp. 183-188.

Charles King III; Michael Siegel; Carolyn Celebucki; Gregory N. Connolly “Adolescent Exposure to Cigarette Advertising in Magazines: An Evaluation of Brand-Specific Advertising in Relation to Youth Readership” *Journal of the American Medical Association* 279 (1998) pp. 516-520.

Linda G. Pucci and Michael Siegel “Exposure to Brand-Specific Cigarette Advertising in Magazines and Its Impact on Youth Smoking” *Preventive Medicine* 29, (1999) pp. 313-320.

J. P. Pierce, E. Gilpin, D. M. Burns, E. Whalen, B. Rosbrook, D. Shopland and M. Johnson “Does tobacco advertising target young people to start smoking? Evidence from California” *Journal of the American Medical Association* (1991) p. 266.

Linda G Pucci and Michael Siegel “Features of sales promotion in cigarette magazine advertisements, 1980-1993: an analysis of youth” *Tobacco Control* 8 (1999) pp. 29-36.

David G. Altman et al. “How an Unhealthy Product Is Sold: Cigarette Advertising in Magazines, 1960-1985.” *Journal of Communication*, 37 (1987) pp.95-106.

neighborhoods targeted by billboards that advertise cigarettes. For instance, cigarette billboards often target minority and poor neighborhoods.¹⁰ Because the 1998 Master Settlement Agreement (MSA) prohibits tobacco advertising on billboards, cigarette companies have begun using the environment outside of retail locations to promote their product. For this reason, researchers are now studying the influence of cigarette advertising that is visible from the outside of retail locations and how it has changed due to the MSA.¹¹

In addition to studying advertisements outside retail establishments, tobacco scholars also study promotional efforts that target customers inside the retail environment. Cigarette manufacturers now spend more money on the retail outlet than any other venue. Therefore, tobacco and cigarette research now focuses its attention on point-of-sale items, shelf placement, and other retail strategies that tobacco companies employ. For instance, according to the MSA tobacco items should be placed at least three feet from the floor, should not be found next to candy, and should not feature cartoons. Therefore, researchers study whether current cigarette merchandising complies with the MSA, the relationship between point-of-purchase items and brand preference among underage smokers, and how the cigarette industry targets youth and young adults with the retail locations it selects for the majority of its merchandising efforts.¹²

¹⁰ Caroline Schooler, Michael D. Basil, & David G. Altman, "Alcohol and Cigarette Advertising on Billboards: Targeting with Social Cues" *Health Communication* 8 (1996) pp.109-129.

David G. Altman, Caroline Schooler & Michael D. Basil "Alcohol and cigarette advertising on billboards" *Health Education Research*, 6 (1991) pp. 487-490.

Diana P. Hackbarth, Barbara Silvestri, & William Cospers "Tobacco and Alcohol Billboards in 50 Chicago Neighborhoods: Market Segmentation to Sell Dangerous Products to the Poor" *Journal of Public Health Policy* 16 (1995), pp. 213-230.

¹¹ Carolyn C. Celebucki & K. Diskin "A longitudinal study of externally visible cigarette advertising on retail storefronts in Massachusetts before and after the Master Settlement Agreement" *Tobacco Control* 11 (2002) pp. ii47-ii53.

¹² Ellen C Feighery, Kurt M Ribisl, Nina Schleicher, Rebecca E Lee and Sonia Halvorson "Cigarette advertising and promotional strategies in retail outlets: results of a statewide survey in California" *Tobacco Control* 10 (2001) pp. 184-188.

Melanie A. Wakefield, Erin E. Ruel, Frank J. Chaloupka, Sandy J. Slater, and Nancy J. Kaufman "Association of Point-of-Purchase Tobacco Advertising and Promotions with Choice of Usual Brand among Teenage

Another promotional practice that is popular with cigarette brands is product placement in films. Although the industry claims that it has not made placements since the 1980s the prevalence of smoking in the movies has steadily increased. For instance, several studies have described how smoking is portrayed in movies, others have examined whether product placement in movies influences adolescent smoking behavior, and the research has looked at the gender issues related to smoking in films.¹³

Because of the high rate of smoking initiation among adolescents and young adults and the hazardous health consequences of smoking, discouraging young people from beginning to use tobacco is essential. Therefore, some scholarly research has reviewed interventions and policies aimed at reducing youth and young adult cigarette smoking in the United States such as antismoking campaigns. Other studies have been more specific in their approach. For instance, some researchers have examined how non-profit organizations and government agencies use social marketing to devise advertising that prevents children and youth from initiating smoking.¹⁴ On the other hand, scholars have also explored the

Smokers" *Journal of Health Communication* 7 (2002) pp. 113-121.

L. Henriksen, E. C. Feighery, N. C. Schleicher, H. H. Haladjian, S. P. Fortmann "Reaching youth at the point of sale: cigarette marketing is more prevalent in stores where adolescents shop frequently" *Tobacco Control* 13 (2004) pp. 315-318.

¹³ S. A. Everett, R. L. Schnuth, J. L. Tribble "Tobacco and alcohol use in top grossing American films." *Journal of Community Health* 23 (1998) pp.317-24.

A. R. Hazan, H. L. Lipton, & S. A. Glantz "Popular films do not reflect current tobacco use." *American Journal of Public Health* 84 (1994) pp. 998-1000.

Madeline A Dalton, James D Sargent, Michael L Beach, Linda Titus-Ernstoff, Jennifer J Gibson, M Bridget Ahrens, Jennifer J Tickle, & Todd F Heatherton "Effect of viewing smoking in movies on adolescent smoking initiation: a cohort study" *Lancet* 2003; 362: pp. 281-85.

James D. Sargent, Michael L. Beach, Anna M. Adachi-Mejia, Jennifer J. Gibson, Linda T. Titus-Ernstoff, Charles P. Carusi, Susan D. Swain, Todd F. Heatherton, & Madeline A. Dalton "Exposure to Movie Smoking: Its Relation to Smoking Initiation Among US Adolescents" *Pediatrics* 116 (2005) pp. 1183-1191.

Gina Escamilla, Angie L Cradock, & Ichiro Kawachi "Women and Smoking in Hollywood Movies: A Content Analysis" *American Journal of Public Health* 90 2000 pp. 412-414

¹⁴ Laura A. Peracchio and David Luna "The Development of an Advertising Campaign to Discourage Smoking Initiation among Children and Youth" *Journal of Advertising* 37 (1998) pp. 49-56.

Alan Andreasen "A Social Marketing Research Agenda for Consumer Behavior Researchers," in *Advances in Consumer Research*, Leigh McAlister and Michael Rothschild, eds., Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, Vol. 20, (1993), pp. 1-5.

Cornelia Pechmann and S. Ratneshwar "The Effects of Antismoking and Cigarette Advertising on Young

increasing problems with youth and tobacco in developing nations.¹⁵

In addition to exploring the various media used to help persuade youth and young adults about tobacco use, some research examines the psychology of smoking. For instance, some research explores the relationship between having peers who smoke and becoming a smoker. Other research explores concepts related to adolescent development to explain why youth begin smoking. Some research identifies specific socio-demographic, environmental, behavioral, and personal variables that predispose individuals to start smoking.¹⁶

History and Mass Communication

The quest for excellent historical research in the field of mass communication is not new. Nearly half a century ago, Allan Nevins, a journalist turned historian, called attention to many of the problems that account for the thin and uneven quality of writing in this branch of history.¹⁷ Historical research involves both documents and a critical method for their evaluation. Nevins once said that “history was not born – it could not be born – until both these elements came into existence.”¹⁸ Writing communication history involves knowledge of the media at some point in the past but also a general understanding of the life

Adolescents Perceptions of Peers Who Smoke," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 21 (1994), pp. 236-251.

Paula M Lantz, Peter D Jacobson, Kenneth E Warner, Jeffrey Wasserman, Harold A. Pollack, Julie Berson, Alexis Ahlstrom "Investing in youth tobacco control: a review of smoking prevention and control strategies" *Tobacco Control* 2000; 9: pp. 47-63.

¹⁵ Charles W. Warren, Leanne Riley, Samira Asma, Michael P. Eriksen, Lawrence Green, Curtis Blanton, Cliff Loo, Scott Batchelor, & Derek Yach "Tobacco use by youth: a surveillance report from the Global Youth Tobacco Survey project" *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* vol.78 no.7 Geneva July 2000

¹⁶ Gilbert J. Botvin, Catherine J. Goldbery, Elizabeth M. Botvin, Linda Dusenbury "Smoking Behavior of Adolescents Exposed to Cigarette Advertising" *Public Health Reports* 108 (1993) pp. 217-224

Kaplan, H.: *Patterns of juvenile delinquency: social origins, continuities, and consequences*. Sage Publications, Newbury Park, CA, 1984.

Dean M. Krugman, William H. Quinn, Yongjun Sung & Margaret Morrison "Understanding the Role of Cigarette Promotion and Youth Smoking in a Changing Marketing Environment" *Journal of Health Communication* 10 (2005) pp. 261–278.

Suzanne L Tyas and Linda L Pederson "Psychosocial factors related to adolescent smoking: a critical review of the literature" *Tobacco Control* 7 (1998) pp. 409-420.

¹⁷ James D. Startt and Wm. David Sloan *Historical Methods in Mass Communication* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1989) p.113.

¹⁸ Allan Nevins, *The Gateway to History*, new rev ed. (Garden City, New York: Double Day & Company Inc., 1962).

and thought of that time. The sources used to conduct communication history should reflect these two concerns.¹⁹

Mass communication historians today profess a new interest in many things about the past such as advertising, newspaper readership, public opinion, the media and violence, and sensationalism. They are also interested in how people behave in groups and society in general. To proceed in investigating such topics in communication history without investigating what sociologists have said about them would be unwise. The same, of course, can be said of sociologists that explore the same questions, for there is a definite historical component to any sociological explanation. This is not to suggest that sociology should become history or history sociology. Simply, the point is that two disciplines can overlap in terms of subject, and at those points it is logical to expect intellectual interaction to occur.²⁰

Advertising and History

Much of the history written about advertising has supported one side or another in the dispute over advertising's effects on consumers. Whereas much of the early historical work of advertising was produced as a kind of defense of advertising, much of the later work has been active in its opposition to advertising. Those who wrote as insiders tended to commend the process; on the other hand, those on the outside tended to attack advertising as a societal blight.²¹

In the field of advertising history, the compositional structure shows considerable diversity. Early advertising history tended to be broadly descriptive and anecdotal. The majority of advertising's history was created in bits and pieces by writers and scholars

¹⁹ James D. Startt and Wm. David Sloan *Historical Methods in Mass Communication* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1989) p.49.

²⁰ James D. Startt and Wm. David Sloan *Historical Methods in Mass Communication* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1989) p.50.

²¹ Donald R. Avery "Advertising, 1900-Present: Capitalist Tool or Economic Necessity?" In *Perspectives on Mass Communication History*, Wm. David Sloan editor. (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991) p. 243.

interested in the history of advertising only peripherally. The later work has been cultural and social and focuses on American culture and social mores instead of advertising itself.²²

Like mass communication research, advertising scholarship falls into several historical schools. The Developmental approach is usually descriptive and seeks answers through an incremental accounting of ever advancing advertising techniques. The Business and Economic historical approach held a similarly favorable view of advertising but was concerned primarily with the dynamics of the advertising industry and the positive part it played in the American economic system. On the other hand, the Cultural school was almost always disparaging. It viewed advertising as being a mirror of society, either being influenced by its surroundings or having an influence on them. Alternatively, Ideological historians viewed advertising in a narrower context. They viewed advertising in the context of socio-political issues. Ideological historians comprise two groups, Progressive historians and Marxist historians. The Progressive school explained advertising as it related to democratic principles and to the clash between the masses and the wealthy class. Lastly, the Marxist school denounces all approaches but its own. Marxists interpreted advertising history as a classic class struggle and efforts aimed at reforming advertising as an exercise in futility.²³

The Cultural School:

As far as historical approaches in advertising history are concerned, this research fits best within the Cultural school. Using this approach, scholars view the media in general and advertising in particular as mirrors of society. Advertising influences culture and society and is influenced and shaped by those same societal factors.²⁴

²² Donald R. Avery "Advertising, 1900-Present: Capitalist Tool or Economic Necessity?" In *Perspectives on Mass Communication History*, Wm. David Sloan editor. (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991) p. 243.

²³ Donald R. Avery "Advertising, 1900-Present: Capitalist Tool or Economic Necessity?" In *Perspectives on Mass Communication History*, Wm. David Sloan editor. (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991) p. 243.

²⁴ Donald R. Avery "Advertising, 1900-Present: Capitalist Tool or Economic Necessity?" In *Perspectives on Mass Communication History*, Wm. David Sloan editor. (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991) p. 247.

The inspiring force of the Cultural interpretation can be traced back to the work of Robert E. Park, one of the faculty members at the University of Chicago who studied urban sociology. Park argued that the evolution of American journalism resulted from its interaction with the surrounding culture in “The Natural History of the Newspaper,” published in 1925. The press, he asserted, was

...the outcome of a historic process in which many individuals participated without foreseeing what the ultimate product of their labors would be. The newspaper, like the modern city, is not wholly a rational product. No one sought to make it what it is. In spite of all of the efforts of individual men and generations of men to control it and make it something after their own heart, it has continued to grow and change in its own incalculable ways.²⁵

The primary factors in determining the nature of the newspaper, Park stated, were the conditions of the society and the system in which the press operated.²⁶

While some historians in other schools had attempted to explain the media as institutions somewhat separate from society, cultural historians considered the media as part of society and therefore influenced by various factors outside of the media themselves.

While most historians had assumed that the media had a major influence on society, cultural historians began to study the opposite effect: the impact of society on the media. This perspective accounted for a major change in historical outlook.²⁷

The study of cultural history in mass communication expands beyond journalism to advertising and economics. In *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character*, David Potter expands on advertising's influence on the development of materialistic values in the United States. He argued that the most distinctive characteristic of American culture

²⁵ Robert E. Park “The Natural History of the Newspaper” in Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and Robert D. McKenzie, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925) p. 88.

²⁶ James D. Startt and Wm. David Sloan *Historical Methods in Mass Communication* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1989) p.36.

²⁷ James D. Startt and Wm. David Sloan *Historical Methods in Mass Communication* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1989) p.36.

was materialism that resulted from affluence and an abundance of goods produced by its economic system. In such a system, the role of advertising was central.²⁸

According to Potter, the role of advertising was to stimulate consumers to purchase goods. In achieving this goal, it had been extremely successful. Potter wrote,

Advertising is not badly needed in an economy of scarcity, because total demand is unusually equal to or in excess of total supply, and every producer can normally sell as much as he produces. It is when potential supply outstrips demand – that is when abundance prevails – that advertising begins to fulfill a really essential economic function.²⁹

Therefore, in the early 1900s, as the American economy began producing more goods than necessary for the people's needs, producers used advertising to encourage the public to shift its thinking from needs to desires so that the emphasis was on consumption. That change revised the culture in the United States.³⁰

Like Potter, Michael Schudson also studied the relationship between advertising and consumption. Schudson argued that advertising helped to shape society in the United States in detrimental ways. Though more interested in modern analysis of advertising than in history, his interpretation of the cultural role of advertising exemplified the approach of historians who emphasized “symbolic meaning” as the essence of mass communication. Schudson wrote that no one has been so crude as to believe advertising created the ‘consumer culture’ alone, but few critics of advertising have looked at what else besides advertising could have created the consumerism that exists today.³¹

²⁸ David M. Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954) pp.166-167.

²⁹ David M. Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954) pp.166-167.

³⁰ David M. Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954) pp.166-167.

³¹ Michael Schudson, *Advertising, The Uneasy Persuasion* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1984) p.13.

Text Analysis and Methodology:

There is growing interest in the social sciences in the systematic analysis of text. This growing interest is a result of the large amount of human thought and behavior that is recorded in one type of text or another. Two broad traditions in textual analysis exist: the *linguistic tradition* and the *sociological tradition*. The linguistic tradition treats the text itself as the object of analysis. On the other hand, the sociological tradition treats text as a window to human experience. Because of the sociological underpinnings of this research, the text analysis will be derived from the sociological tradition.

Those in the sociological tradition view texts as elements of social events that are said to have causal effects because they bring about changes. For instance, texts can bring about immediate changes in our level of knowledge because we can learn from them, our values, our attitudes, and our beliefs. Texts can also have more long-term effects. For instance, one could argue that prolonged experience of advertising and other commercial texts contributes to shaping people's identities as consumers or even their gender identities. Therefore, texts have causal effects upon, and contribute to, changes in people, social relations, and the material world.³²

However, texts do not create a simple mechanical causality. For example, one cannot claim that particular features of texts automatically bring about specific changes in an individual's knowledge or behavior or specific social or political effects. Likewise, there may be no regular cause or effect pattern that is associated with a particular type of text or particular features of text. However, this lack of regular cause does not mean that there are no causal effects. Texts can have causal effects without their being regular effects because

³² Norman Fairclough *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (New York: Routledge, 2003) p. 8.

many other factors in the context determine whether particular texts actually have such effects and can lead to a particular text having a variety of effects.³³

Many theories of social constructivism emphasize the role of texts in the construction of the social world. Although individuals may textually represent the social world in particular ways, whether our representations have the effect of changing the social construction depends on contextual factors. These factors include the way social reality already is and who is interpreting it. Therefore, sociologists can accept a moderate version of the claim that the social world is textually constructed but not an extreme version.³⁴

Grounded Theory and Textual Analysis:

Grounded theory is one the methods of textual analysis that is frequently used by scholars in the sociological tradition. Grounded theory is a set of techniques that can be used to provide a rigorous and detailed method for identifying categories and concepts that emerge from the text and it helps the researcher to link concepts into substantive and formal theories.³⁵ Although grounded theory is often used for analyzing interviews, it seems that it could also be used to identify themes that emerge in advertising messages.

The mechanics of grounded theory are deceptively simple: review a sample of text, identify themes that arise, and as analytic categories emerge, identify examples from the categories and compare them considering not only which text belongs in each emerging category but also how the categories are linked together. The relationships among the categories are then used to build theoretical models. These models are constantly being

³³ N. Fairclough, R. Jessop, and A. Sayer "Critical Realism and Semiosis" *Journal of Critical Realism* 5 (2002) pp.2-10.

Norman Fairclough *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (New York: Routledge, 2003) p. 8.

³⁴ Norman Fairclough *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (New York: Routledge, 2003) p. 9. Andrew Sayer *Realism and Social Science* (London: Sage, 2000).

³⁵ H. Russell Bernard and Gery W. Ryan "Text Analysis: Qualitative and Quantitative Methods." In *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology* H. Russell Bernard editor (Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press 1998) p.607. Yvonna S. Lincoln and Egon G. Guba *Naturalistic Inquiry* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1985).

checked against the data. Grounded theory is an iterative process by which the analyst becomes increasingly grounded in the data and develops an increasingly rich concept or model of how the phenomenon being studied really works.³⁶

Texts Used for this Research:

Newspapers as Historical Texts:

The old proverb “familiarity breeds contempt” can aptly be applied to the newspaper. Its availability becomes, in the eyes of the public, the best reason for disregarding it. Unconsciously, this same idea has been the basis of the procedure of the historian.

Historians often give more credence to material that is more difficult to find.³⁷

Historian Lucy Maynard Salmon believes that important historical records are kept in newspaper advertisements. Salmon said that the student of history finds in studying the advertiser an important record of changes in the business management of the press. If the advertiser has unduly influenced the press to suppress news undesirable for special business interests, it has been the press itself that has set the danger signal. If the advertiser has been unfair in its dealings with the public, it has been the press that has led the campaign for honest advertising and that has found its greatest allies among the advertisers themselves.³⁸

The historian uses the newspaper in an effort to reconstruct the past. And, the historian may therefore find both the authoritative and the unauthoritative parts to be valuable. The authoritative parts are necessary in giving an accurate account of past events. The unauthoritative parts may be of value in determining ideals and standards. The historian

³⁶ H. Russell Bernard and Gery W. Ryan “Text Analysis: Qualitative and Quantitative Methods.” In *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology* H. Russell Bernard editor (Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press 1998) p.607.

³⁷ Lucy Maynard Salmon *The Newspaper and the Historian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1923) p. xxxix.

³⁸ Lucy Maynard Salmon *The Newspaper and the Historian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1923) p. 364.

is not concerned simply with the accounts of material events but also the interpretation of the spirit of a time or locality.³⁹

The historian thus finds in the very processes of newspaper advertising valuable records of the changing business standards of the press. The historian finds in all commercial advertising a perfect record of the conditions out of which it has grown. Advertising presents a record of corporate extravagance and wastefulness, of shortsighted business policy that accepts questionable advertisements, and philanthropic calls for help made through an advertising appeal. The “ad-less newspaper” so often urged as a remedy for all of the evils laid at the door of the press would not only prove as a panacea, but it would deprive society of the most flawless mirror of itself and the historian of the most unimpeachable evidence at his or her command.⁴⁰

Therefore, newspaper advertisement serves the historian in every part of his effort to reconstruct the past. If the advertisement is true, the facts it states are of value. If the advertisement is not true, that in and of itself is a record of the low moral standards that were tolerated but not acknowledged by the press and the public. Moreover, the advertisement, true or false, is an invaluable record of the normal life in the past. The record is essential because advertisements made a record of the material, intellectual and moral conditions in the past.⁴¹

Master Settlement Agreement and Tobacco Documents:

The Master Settlement Agreement (MSA) is an agreement that was signed in November 1998 by the tobacco industry and the attorneys general in 46 states and five U.S. territories. The agreement resolved lawsuits filed by the attorneys general against the tobacco

³⁹ Lucy Maynard Salmon *The Newspaper and the Historian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1923) p. xli.

⁴⁰ Lucy Maynard Salmon *The Newspaper and the Historian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1923) p. 367-374.

⁴¹ Lucy Maynard Salmon *The Newspaper and the Historian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1923) p. 375.

industry and provided funds to the states to compensate them for taxpayer money that was spent on patients and family members with tobacco-related diseases. Among the many other provisions, the agreement required that tobacco billboard advertising be removed and that tobacco companies stop using cartoon characters to sell cigarettes. The tobacco companies also agreed not to target youth in the advertising, marketing and promotion of their products. The MSA also called for the creation of a foundation -- the American Legacy Foundation -- to counteract tobacco use.⁴²

In addition to agreeing to limitations on advertising, that tobacco companies also agreed to make many of their internal documents available to the public. The major vehicle that the tobacco companies use to make their documents available is the Internet. For instance, the MSA states:

The Original Participating Manufacturers will maintain at their expense their Internet document websites accessible through "TobaccoResolution.com" or a similar website until June 30, 2010. The Original Participating Manufacturers will maintain the documents that currently appear on their respective websites and will add additional documents to their websites...⁴³

The individual tobacco companies must continue to update the documents until 2010. The MSA continues by stating:

Unless copies of such documents are already on its website, each Original Participating Manufacturer and Tobacco-Related Organization will place on its website copies of documents produced in any production of documents that takes place on or after the date 30 days before the MSA Execution Date in any federal or state court civil action concerning smoking and health. Copies of any documents required to be placed on a website pursuant to this subsection will be placed on such website within the later of 45 days after the MSA Execution Date or within 45 days after the production of such documents in any federal or state court action

⁴² Legacy: The American Legacy Foundation. <http://www.americanlegacy.org/82.htm> (Retrieved 6 December, 2006).

⁴³ "Master Settlement Agreement" *Office of the Attorney General: State of California Department of Justice* <http://ag.ca.gov/tobacco/pdf/1msa.pdf?PHPSESSID=c0699bff2494cc2a9b77e884b43e7412> p. 23 (Retrieved 6 December, 2006).

concerning smoking and health. This obligation will continue until June 30, 2010.⁴⁴

However, there are certain documents that the MSA does not require the tobacco industry to post. The MSA states:

- (1) it continues to claim to be privileged, a trade secret, confidential or proprietary business information, or that contain other information not appropriate for public disclosure because of personal privacy interests or contractual rights of third parties; or
- (2) continue to be subject to any protective order, sealing order or other order or ruling that prevents or limits a litigant from disclosing such documents.⁴⁵

Internet-Based Tobacco Databases:

As part of the Master Settlement Agreement between the States and the tobacco companies, the industry was required to make the documents used during the various tobacco trials available. The companies posted the documents on their websites, but searching required going to a variety of sites, each with a different interface.

In 1988, Tobacco.org began with Gene Borio's news-posting service on Compuserve, where Borio was a forum leader, Prodigy, and later AOL. An electronic bulletin board service started in 1993, and the website began in 1996. Since 2000, the website has been run by Gene Borio and Michael Tancelosky. Tobacco.org is a free resource center focusing on tobacco and smoking issues. It features tobacco news, information, help for smokers trying to quit, alerts on tobacco control issues, and open consideration of all aspects of the spectrum of issues concerning tobacco, nicotine, cigarettes and cigars.⁴⁶

The MSA required the industry to submit a snapshot of their sites as of July 1999. Tobacco Documents Online (TDO) spent more than a year creating standard document

⁴⁴ "Master Settlement Agreement" *Office of the Attorney General: State of California Department of Justice* <http://ag.ca.gov/tobacco/pdf/1msa.pdf?PHPSESSID=c0699bff2494cc2a9b77e884b43e7412> p.23 (Retrieved 6 December, 2006).

⁴⁵ "Master Settlement Agreement" *Office of the Attorney General: State of California Department of Justice* <http://ag.ca.gov/tobacco/pdf/1msa.pdf?PHPSESSID=c0699bff2494cc2a9b77e884b43e7412> p.23 (Retrieved 6 December, 2006).

⁴⁶ Tobacco.org: TobaccoNews and Information. <http://www.tobacco.org/> (Retrieved 6 December, 2006).

descriptions to allow uniform searching, and through the American Legacy Foundation, it obtained tapes of the document images. TDO provides powerful searching across all the companies, access to high-quality images, as well as the ability to collect and annotate documents. These tools were built for document researchers, and are available to anyone with a web browser.⁴⁷

The Legacy Tobacco Documents Library (LTDL) contains seven million documents related to advertising, manufacturing, marketing, sales, and scientific research of tobacco products. Visitors can search, view, and download these documents from this website.⁴⁸

The LTDL includes documents posted on tobacco industry web sites as of July 1999 in accordance with the Master Settlement Agreement, additional documents added to those sites since that date, and the Brown & Williamson document collections from the Tobacco Control Archives maintained by the University of California, San Francisco. New documents are added monthly as they are collected from industry websites.⁴⁹

Internal tobacco industry documents comprise the bulk of the Legacy Tobacco Documents Library. The documents were made available through litigation brought by the National Association of Attorneys General (NAAG) that resulted in the Master Settlement Agreement (1998). As a result of the MSA, the collection will continue to be updated as documents become available until June 30th, 2010.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Tobaccodocuments.org: Tobacco Documents Online <http://tobaccodocuments.org/about.php> (Retrieved 6 December, 2006).

⁴⁸ The Legacy Tobacco Documents Library <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/index.html> (Retrieved 6 December, 2006).

⁴⁹ The Legacy Tobacco Documents Library <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/index.html> (Retrieved 6 December, 2006).

⁵⁰ The Legacy Tobacco Documents Library <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/index.html> (Retrieved 6 December, 2006).

Organization of this Study:

Although scholarly research has examined the history of cigarette advertising, it has not specifically addressed the role of cigarette advertising and promotion on college and university campuses. This study will provide some of the first insights into this important piece of advertising and tobacco industry history. The purpose of this study is to help provide answers to two overriding questions.

R1: How did cigarette advertising and promotion on campus endeavor to persuade students to start smoking from 1920-1963?

R2: What stopped advertisers from promoting cigarettes in campus newspapers in 1963?

This first chapter of the dissertation relates the purpose of the study and the research questions. The chapter discusses the historical perspective used for this research, the methodology that will be used, and the research materials that will be compiled to comprise the majority of the data for the study.

The second chapter of the study comprises a historical review of the topic. In addition to serving as a review of the current histories on tobacco, the chapter will also relate a general history of the tobacco industry, tobacco advertising, and anti-tobacco movements in the United States. The goal of this chapter will be to create a general historical and cultural context for the cigarette promotion that became common on college and university campuses across the United States.

The third chapter in this dissertation discusses the relationship between the tobacco industry and American universities. The history and purpose of the student newspaper on college and university campuses is of particular importance to this research. This chapter also discusses campus newspapers in general and references specific student newspapers that

set important precedents. The chapter also explains the role of the student newspaper on campus and ethical and legal issues related to the campus or student press. In addition, the chapter provides a brief history of *The Orange and White*, the student newspaper at the University of Tennessee. The issue of generating funds from campus activity fees and advertising will be of particular interest as will be national advertising sales agencies such as College Newspaper Business Advertising Managers, Inc. (CBAM) and the National Educational Advertising Service (NEAS). In addition, the chapter will discuss the university's role in conducting research relating to tobacco cultivation. The goal of this chapter is to provide background information relating to student newspapers and the presence of the tobacco industry on university campuses. The chapter also shows how the tobacco industry targeted colleges and universities to reach a young audience. Chapter three also discusses how the national advertising sales agents used student newspapers to make a handsome profit from selling advertising space in student publications to cigarette manufacturers.

The fourth chapter discusses the Federal Trade Commission's involvement in the issue of tobacco and youth. In addition to addressing the FTC, the chapter will also look at the Tobacco Institute's efforts to protect the interests of the tobacco industry and its youth market. Much of the information for this chapter comes from internal documents released from the Master Settlement Agreement. This chapter demonstrates the power of the Tobacco Institute and the difficulties that the FTC faced when trying to regulate tobacco advertising before the Surgeon General's Report. The chapter ends by discussing the FTC's role in stopping cigarette manufacturers from printing advertisements in youth publications, which include student newspapers.

The fifth chapter examines the actual newspaper advertisements placed in *The Orange and White*. Cigarette manufacturers became important advertisers in campus newspapers during the 1920s as cigarette smoking became socially acceptable. During the 1920s, as the habit gained acceptance among a female market, cigarette advertisements began to feature women. In addition, an increasing number of brands began to use student publications to promote their cigarettes. After the 1920s, cigarette manufacturers became major advertisers in campus papers and began to use more sophisticated advertising strategies. In addition, cigarette manufacturers began using an integrated promotional strategy that combined print and broadcast media to advertise their brands. During World War II, advertising took on a patriotic tone. The number of advertisements also was greatly reduced during the war years as the young adult population that comprised the college market moved from the college and university campus to the war fronts in Europe and the Pacific. The 1950s marked the start of the regulation of cigarette advertising. In spite of the regulation, the advertisements increased in size and frequency. However, the regulations were not strictly enforced and largely ignored by the cigarette manufacturers. Cigarette advertising remained in the student newspapers until 1963 when the industry removed the advertising because of pressure from the FTC. This chapter's goal is to study the frequency of cigarette advertising and the strategies and tactics used to attract new smokers.

The sixth chapter discusses the findings of the study and draws meaningful conclusions from the research and demonstrates how the findings apply to the larger fields of advertising and tobacco research. The chapter also identifies specific themes frequently found in cigarette advertisements published in *The Orange and White* and relates these themes to popular marketing strategies and tactics identified in chapter five. The chapter concludes with ideas for further study.

Summary:

The relationship between cigarette addiction and tobacco youth and young adult marketing is an important facet of the smoking and public health issues that faced our society in the 20th century and continue to be a concern in the 21st century. The goal of this research is to explore key issues related to the marketing of tobacco on college campuses from the 1920s-1963. Internal documents made available by the MSA will be used to help explain why the tobacco industry decided to stop advertising in campus publications. Advertisements from a college newspaper will be used to study how the cigarette advertisers targeted the youth and young adult market.

Chapter 2: An Overview of Smoking and Tobacco Use and Promotion

Smoking must be one of the strangest habits among humans – the only creature that takes smoke into the body for pleasure. Purposefully inhaling smoke into the lungs would seem unnatural and contrary to the organs' purpose. However, the practice is as old as civilization. Ancient Greeks, Indians, and Arabians all practiced the inhalation of various herbs and other substances for medical and ceremonial purposes.⁵¹ Although smoking is not new, at the turn of the 20th century cigar smoking was common, cigarette smoking was seen as somewhat decadent and slightly subversive habit. Smoking was considered a male custom associated with “rough-and-ready boys, dandies, and improper women.”⁵² However, by the 1950s more than one third of U.S. women smoked.⁵³ Some estimates state that by the 1950s the total population of smokers had reached nearly 70 million.⁵⁴ This startling shift leads one to question how this habit that was once obscure could have attained such popularity.

Many factors contributed to the prevalence of cigarette smoking. In addition to the addictive nature of tobacco, industrialization and mechanization were key factors. The commercial production of cigarettes had been a cottage industry until 1881 when James A. Bonsack invented a cigarette-making machine. Then, in 1883 James Buchanan Duke, who had inherited his father's tobacco business in Durham, North Carolina, purchased two cigarette machines. In five years time, Duke's company was selling nearly a billion cigarettes annually, far more than any other producer.⁵⁵ Other manufacturers soon followed in Duke's footsteps. The cigarette industry was rapidly becoming a major force in the U.S. economy.

⁵¹ Susan Wagner *Cigarette Country: Tobacco in American History and Politics*. (New York, NY: Praeger Publishers, 1971) p. 4.

⁵² Pamela Walker Laird “Consuming Smoke: Cigarettes in American Culture.” *Reviews in American History*, 28, (2000): pp. 96-104.

⁵³ Steve Craig and Terry Moellinger “‘So Rich, Mild, and Fresh’: A Critical Look at TV Cigarette Commercials, 1948-1971.” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 25 (January 2001): pp. 55-71.

⁵⁴ Susan Wagner *Cigarette Country: Tobacco in American History and Politics*. (New York, NY : Praeger Publishers, 1971) p. 77.

⁵⁵ Meyer, John A. “Cigarette Country” *American Heritage* 43 (1992): p.72.

In addition to mass production, marketing played a key role in the spread of the habit. Until World War I, cigarette production in the United States remained relatively stable. Once the United States entered the conflict in 1917, the National Cigarette Service Committee distributed millions of free cigarettes to the troops in France. The cigarettes became such a morale booster that General Pershing demanded priority for their shipment to the front. The war solidified the habit among the American people. Between 1910 and 1919 cigarette production increased by 633 percent, from less than ten billion annually to nearly 70 billion annually.⁵⁶

Marketing was essential to the success of the cigarette. Young people were the natural target because virtually all smokers begin smoking when they are teenagers or young adults.⁵⁷ After World War I, tobacco manufacturing had completed its long transition from a laid-back country craft to an aggressive commercial war on a national battlefield. In this fight, advertising was the primary weapon. At the dawn of the 1920s, advertising was repetitious, grating, and emotional. Color advertisements showing movie stars appealing to the audience to try their particular brand promised social approval to youth and young adults. Advertising that made cigarette smoking seem sensible, even healthful, stimulated more sales as medical doctors, athletes, and celebrities gladly signed testimonials. The millions spent on advertising were directed at capturing new smokers, fostering brand loyalty, and increasing brand consciousness. Effectively reaching a young audience was vital to fostering the national smoking habit.⁵⁸

Early History of the Cigarette Industry in the U.S. and the Tobacco Opposition:

Early History

The cigarette did not start out as a popular way to consume tobacco. Traditionalists and old-fashioned men smoked pipes. On the other hand, rural men and those who wanted

⁵⁶ John A. Meyer "Cigarette Country" *American Heritage* 43 (1992): p.72.

⁵⁷ Steve Craig and Terry Moellinger "'So Rich, Mild, and Fresh': A Critical Look at TV Cigarette Commercials, 1948-1971." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 25 (January 2001): p.55.

⁵⁸ Susan Wagner *Cigarette Country: Tobacco in American History and Politics*. (New York, NY: Praeger Publishers, 1971) pp. 54-55.

to be thought of as “tough guys” chewed from the plug. Americans who wanted to imitate the style of European aristocrats used dry snuff. Successful businessmen smoked Cuban cigars while poor workingmen enjoyed penny stogies. Very few American women smoked, or at least admitted to using tobacco. To be seen with a cigar or any other form of tobacco marked a woman as being eccentric, rustic, fast, loose, or advanced. Few women sought these labels a century and a quarter ago.⁵⁹

American men enjoyed tobacco. The initial chew, the first homemade pipe, and the cheap cigar lit behind the barn were each considered important rites of passage. Some parents might warn that smoking stunted growth and that it fouled the breath, but few outside of dedicated anti-smoking circles made any significant effort to prevent young men and boys from taking up the habit. The only question that remained was what type of tobacco should be used.⁶⁰

Fine artisans still fashioned snuff boxes, but the business was declining along with the use of that product. However, the chewing tobacco market was expanding. The cigar was deemed the cleanest form of leaf because its sole byproduct was ash. Elegant cigar smokers owned silver cutters, pocket cases fashioned of precious metals and leather, and humidors. Further, the ability to enjoy, judge, and collect cigars was considered as much of a social grace as the knowledge of fine wines and their proper maintenance.⁶¹

However, the decade’s biggest tobacco news was the emergence of the cigarette as something more than a novelty but less than a socially acceptable habit in most parts of the nation. There is no way of knowing how many were consumed before the Civil War, since the government did not keep such statistics at the time. In 1880 half a billion cigarettes were sold in the United States, and this figure is for manufactured products alone – the roll-your-owns added approximately one billion to the total.

⁵⁹ Robert Sobel *They Satisfy: The Cigarette in American Life* (Garden City, NJ: Anchor Press, 1978) p. 1.

⁶⁰ Robert Sobel *They Satisfy: The Cigarette in American Life* (Garden City, NJ: Anchor Press, 1978) p. 6.

⁶¹ Robert Sobel *They Satisfy: The Cigarette in American Life* (Garden City, NJ: Anchor Press, 1978) p. 6.

During the 1860s, when Phillip Morris started rolling its first cigarettes, cigarettes started to become a widely recognized form of tobacco consumption. Tobacco played an important role in the Civil War. Tobacco was supported in the South by tobacco revenues and in the North by a tax. The Civil War was also the first time a government, the Confederacy, issued tobacco rations to its army. The mingling of soldiers from the North and South aided the spread of the cigarette in the U.S. For instance, Confederate soldiers would often trade their cigarettes to Union soldiers for food and supplies.⁶²

By the 1880s the cigarette had a constituency of sorts. In the 1880s, it appeared to be small and marginal. For most of the 19th Century, tobacco users stuck to chewing tobacco or smoking cigars or pipes. The skill needed to produce cigarettes limited the growth of the industry.⁶³ However, those who did smoke cigarettes were mostly the poor, new immigrants, or dandies in the large eastern cities. Cigarette smoking was not acceptable among middle class men. However, some sophisticated upper-class women in large eastern cities occasionally smoked. They primarily smoked Turkish and Russian brands in somewhat the same spirit as middle-aged Americans today might make a deal for a few joints of marijuana. The purchase produced a feeling of guilt and excitement. These women smoked within the privacy of their bedrooms or parlors, often in secrecy.⁶⁴

After the Civil War, a former Confederate soldier named Washington Duke converted his family farm and turned it into a family pipe-tobacco business. However, competition from other brands, specifically the Bull Durham brands, created the need to search for a new niche. Washington Duke's oldest son "Buck" Duke saw potential in the

⁶² Tara Parker-Pope *Cigarettes: Anatomy of an Industry from Seed to Smoke* (New York, NY: The New Press, 2001) p. 9.

⁶³ Tara Parker-Pope *Cigarettes: Anatomy of an Industry from Seed to Smoke* (New York, NY: The New Press, 2001) p. 9.

⁶⁴ Robert Sobel *They Satisfy: The Cigarette in American Life* (Garden City, NJ: Anchor Press, 1978) p. 13.

cigarette. Though the cigarette market was tiny, the habit was gaining popularity in urban areas in England and New York.⁶⁵

In 1881 Duke returned to Durham to begin the conversion to cigarettes. He did not relish the change because, like most middle class Southerners, he considered cigarettes to be effeminate and alien. Although they were gaining popularity in the Northeast, tobacco users in the South still preferred cigars and chewing tobacco, or plug.⁶⁶

Duke believed that there were four facets of the cigarette business: (1) the growing, purchasing, and blending of tobacco, (2) the manufacture and packaging of cigarettes, (3) distribution, and (4) advertising. Duke's primary contribution to the cigarette industry was revolutionizing how cigarettes were produced and how the product was positioned in the market. Duke had a view of cigarettes that was different from most people in the industry. Most producers thought of cigarettes as small cigars and tried to make them through a cigar-making process. Unlike the other producers, Duke considered cigarettes to be "cheap smoke" that could capture cigar smokers on the basis of price and advertising. Duke believed that cigarettes were an entirely new product, and not simply a paper cigar. Duke used the cigarette producing machine or "Emery machine" created by James Bonsack of Virginia. The machine could produce more than 200 cigarettes a minute. This was more than 40 times the number of cigarettes that the best skilled workers could roll by hand.⁶⁷ The mechanized cigarette producing process increased the volume and decreased the price of producing the product.⁶⁸ When Duke turned exclusively to machine production in 1885, he quickly saturated the market in the United States because of the sharp increase in the number of cigarettes he could manufacture. Because production was no longer an issue, the primary task was selling the large amount of cigarettes he could produce to the public.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Tara Parker-Pope *Cigarettes: Anatomy of an Industry from Seed to Smoke* (New York, NY: The New Press, 2001) p. 11.

⁶⁶ Robert Sobel *They Satisfy: The Cigarette in American Life* (Garden City, NJ: Anchor Press, 1978) p. 30.

⁶⁷ Michael Schudson *Advertising: The Uneasy Persuasion* (New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc., 1984) p. 185.

⁶⁸ Robert Sobel *They Satisfy: The Cigarette in American Life* (Garden City, NJ: Anchor Press, 1978) p. 33.

⁶⁹ Michael Schudson *Advertising: The Uneasy Persuasion* (New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc., 1984) p. 185.

In addition to revolutionizing the cigarette, Duke showed his understanding of the cigarette market. Duke understood that Americans were upwardly mobile. And, it would be the same with smoking tobacco. Men might begin smoking tobacco with American cigarettes but if they did well they would graduate up to foreign brands and cigars. Therefore, the cheap cigarette had a limited future. The cigarette was destined for the role of the initiator of the young into smoking. And, Duke would keep them as customers as long as they were not wealthy enough to afford cigars.⁷⁰

Duke's ultimate goal was to dominate the entire tobacco business. First, he planned to engulf the other cigarette firms and take over all forms of tobacco production. Duke started the process by intensifying his advertising and lowering prices. Eventually, retailers earned 50 percent more profit by selling W. Duke Sons than any other competitor's brand. Duke bought out the competition and formed the American Tobacco Company on January 31, 1890. However, the tobacco trust was short lived. The first antitrust action was brought against American Tobacco in April of 1890 and the litigation lasted until the Supreme Court dissolved the trust in May of 1911.⁷¹

Cigarette smoking grew in popularity from 1880 onward. By 1890, the use of cigarette tobacco ran even with snuff. The sales of cigarettes grew into the 1890s. However, cigarette use fell from 1900-1905 and only equaled snuff sales again in 1911. Cigarettes did not reach the same level as any other tobacco form until the start of the 1920s when it surpassed cigars, pipe tobaccos, and chewing tobacco or plug. Cigarettes comprised more than half of all tobacco use by 1935.⁷²

Early Opposition to Smoking and Tobacco use:

To many, the Surgeon General's Report in 1964 represents the beginnings of the tobacco and health controversy. However, issues relating to the side effects of tobacco have virtually always followed the industry. King James I of England actively voiced his concerns

⁷⁰ Robert Sobel *They Satisfy: The Cigarette in American Life* (Garden City, NJ: Anchor Press, 1978) p. 35.

⁷¹ Robert Sobel *They Satisfy: The Cigarette in American Life* (Garden City, NJ: Anchor Press, 1978) p. 45.

⁷² Michael Schudson *Advertising: The Uneasy Persuasion* (New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc., 1984) p. 185.

about the first tobacco crops being grown in Virginia⁷³. He stated that tobacco was “loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain” and “dangerous to the lungs.”⁷⁴ One of tobacco’s earliest detractors was published in Britain in 1604, *A Counterblast to Tobacco*. Although originally it was anonymous, the tract now receives considerable attention because historians believe that it was created by James I, who instituted heavy taxes on tobacco as part of a campaign against the product. In 1601, the *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)* published one of the first records of pathology linked to tobacco use. According to this paper, surgeons attributed the death of a patient to smoking tobacco.⁷⁵

The first anti-tobacco tract was published in the U.S. in 1798 by Dr. Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. In Rush’s *Observations upon the influence of the Habitual use of Tobacco upon Health, Morals, and Property*, he objects to the use of tobacco on grounds that it had disastrous effects on the stomach, the nerves, and the oral cavity. Many tobacco users including John Quincy Adams, a connoisseur who had made the cigar respectable, announced that they had shaken the habit with consequent improvement in health.⁷⁶

During the pre-Civil War period, a group of doctors, educators, clergymen and the great P.T. Barnum formed an alliance to fight the tobacco habit. Some antismoking literature also addressed itself to young people. The Reverend George Trask of Boston published a popular tract in 1852 entitled *Thoughts and Stories for American Lads; or Uncle Toby’s Anti-Tobacco Advice to his Nephew Billy Bruce*. Likewise, the *Lancet* a British medical journal in 1856-57 featured an article entitled “The Great Tobacco Question” in which fifty doctors expressed

⁷³ Susan Wagner *Cigarette Country: Tobacco in American History and Politics* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971) p. 26.

⁷⁴ Jane L. McGrew “History of Tobacco Regulation” based on a paper prepared for the National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse. DrugLibrary.org
<http://www.druglibrary.org/schaffer/Library/studies/nc/nc2b.htm> [July 19, 2005].

⁷⁵ Jane L. McGrew “History of Tobacco Regulation” based on a paper prepared for the National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse. DrugLibrary.org
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⁷⁶ Susan Wagner *Cigarette Country: Tobacco in American History and Politics*. (New York, NY: Praeger Publishers, 1971) p. 26.

their opinions on the topic. Doctors described nervous paralysis, loss of intellectual capacity, and vision impairment.⁷⁷

The Civil War increased American cigarette consumption and attracted new smokers in the Midwest and Northeast. In response to the increase in smoking, Midwestern tobacco opponents demanded regulation. Because no major manufacturer of cigarettes existed, and because the government needed money to finance the war, Congress complied by taxing cigarettes arriving from Russia and Turkey.⁷⁸

As cigarettes gained popularity at the turn of the 20th century, the anti-tobacco sentiments reignited. In 1880, cigarettes constituted one percent of tobacco intake, yet they drew regular criticism that increased in intensity as sales grew. The opposition to cigarette smoking took a variety of forms from verbal criticisms in the form of “epithets associated with death or immortality,” such as “coffin nails,” “gasps,” and devil’s toothpicks” to more coordinated activities such as attacks from schools, pulpits, and the press.⁷⁹

One of the most outspoken early tobacco opponents was Lucy Page Gaston. Born in 1860 to parents who were active in reform movements, especially abolition and temperance, Gaston could aptly discuss the evils of alcohol and the rewards of clean living as a child. While working as a teacher, Gaston would see young boys sneaking around to the back of the schoolhouse to puff on cigarettes. Invariably, these were her worst students. Gaston organized her Chicago-based campaign modeled on previous anti-alcohol crusades. Children wore pins and sang songs, carried banners, and paraded. Eventually Gaston formally organized her cause in 1903 forming the National Anti-Cigarette League. Clergymen, educators, and many businessmen applauded her efforts.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Susan Wagner *Cigarette Country: Tobacco in American History and Politics*. (New York, NY: Praeger Publishers, 1971) p. 26.

⁷⁸ Karen S. Miller, “Smoking Up A Storm: Public Relations and Advertising in the Construction of the Cigarette Problem 1953-1954” *Journalism Monographs*, 36 (December 1992) p. 4.

⁷⁹ Pamela Walker Laird “Consuming Smoke: Cigarettes in American Culture.” *Reviews in American History*, 28, (2000): 96-104.

⁸⁰ Robert Sobel *They Satisfy: The Cigarette in American Life* (Garden City, NJ: Anchor Press, 1978) p. 53.

Gaston's zeal was rewarded. Her campaign was effective and, as one could have predicted, it did best in the Midwest. Thanks to her hard work most large cities had clinics that smokers could go to for help if they wanted to quit. Likewise, many new products were being marketed to help tobacco users quit. For instance, the National Anti-Cigarette League introduced a mouthwash that was supposed to reduce tobacco cravings.⁸¹

In addition to Gaston, many other public figures opposed smoking. Boxing champion John L. Sullivan denounced cigarettes as unmanly. Henry Ford and Thomas Edison refused to hire cigarette smokers. A nation-wide "Committee to Study the Tobacco Problem" was established and attracted distinguished men in every field. Anticigarette physicians including Surgeon General Rupert Blue condemned cigarettes. In addition, the New England Life Insurance Company found that after investigating the records of policyholders during a certain period of time that 57 out of 100 nonusers of tobacco died; during the same period, 95 out of 100 cigarette smokers died. By 1909, twelve states and numerous towns created laws restricting tobacco use and/or sale. However, many of these statutes were never enforced.⁸²

There were some within the tobacco industry that made light of the anti-tobacco efforts. However, tobacco sales dropped significantly during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Buck Duke was said to have mixed feelings about the tobacco controversy. For a while, Lucy Gaston's crusade might have harmed American Tobacco but it almost completely eliminated its competitors. At the turn of the century, nine out of every ten packs sold carried the Duke label.

Cigarette Promotion and Advertising 1920s and 1930s:

As soldiers returned victorious from the battlefields in Europe, R. J. Reynolds, a former member of the American Tobacco trust, was creating its first nationally marketed

⁸¹ Robert Sobel *They Satisfy: The Cigarette in American Life* (Garden City, NJ: Anchor Press, 1978) p. 54.

⁸² Susan Wagner *Cigarette Country: Tobacco in American History and Politics*. (New York, NY: Praeger Publishers, 1971) p. 26.

cigarette, Camel Cigarettes. Just before the war, the cigarette industry developed a slightly acid blend of burley and Turkish tobaccos. This new blend allowed practiced cigarette smokers to inhale without coughing.⁸³ The brand rapidly attained market dominance with an upscale smoke that delivered a new tobacco taste. In no time, George Washington Hill's American Tobacco Company created a richer sweeter product, Lucky Strike cigarettes. Hill hired hard-sell expert Albert Lasker of the Lord & Thomas Agency to do whatever was necessary to win the cigarette war. As a result, Lucky Strike broke all previous records. Hill, urged by Lasker, jumped at the chance to reach an untapped audience – women. The Lucky Strike campaign involved several advertising innovations. Hill was concerned that women disliked the green packaging because it clashed with their clothes. To remedy the problem he hired public relations expert, Edward Bernays who promoted the color green at the season's fashion show. Hill also used Bernays to help with the necessary social engineering that was needed to attempt to persuade women to smoke. They first set out to increase the acceptability of women smoking in public. To this end, Bernays convinced a group of ten debutantes to smoke cigarettes while strolling with their escorts in Fifth Avenue's Easter parade. The stunt was billed by Bernays as women lighting a "torch of freedom" . . . "to combat the silly prejudice that the cigarette . . . is never seen on the sidewalk."⁸⁴ Hill also used celebrities from the entertainment world to promote the cigarettes. The new slogan, "Reach for a Lucky instead of a sweet" resonated with the weight conscious female audience.⁸⁵

⁸³ Stephen Fox *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertisers & Its Creators*. (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1997) p.114.

⁸⁴ Edward L. Bernays *Biography of an idea: Memoirs of public relations counsel Edward L. Bernays*. (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1965) p. 387.

⁸⁵ Juliann Sivulka *Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes: A Cultural History of American Advertising*. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1998) pp. 166-167.

Although the new Lucky slogan resonated with women, it did not fare as well with the candy industry. The tobacco-candy fight was a rough one. As a result, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) became deeply entrenched in the conflict. American Tobacco appropriated \$12.3 million for the battle. To accommodate the candy industry, Lucky Strike modified the slogan to “Reach for a Lucky Instead,” and ran a “future-shadow” series of advertisements featuring double-chinned and heavy-belted silhouettes behind trim figures. In spite of American Tobacco’s efforts, by 1932 the FTC banned Americans from marketing cigarettes as a weight-reducing device, even by suggestion.⁸⁶ By establishing a connection between smoking and a slender figure, George Washington Hill and Albert Lasker, of the Lord & Thomas agency, were able to erase some of the negative stigma from cigarette smoking. In fact, they convinced many women that smoking was good for their image. American Tobacco Company spent more money advertising Lucky Strikes than anyone had ever spent to advertise a single product. Lord & Thomas used this single account to make a place among the major agencies.⁸⁷

As a result of the marketing campaigns targeting women, women became substantial tobacco consumers for the very first time. The new product intersected with women’s liberation. In 1919, *Printer’s Ink*, ever on guard for advertising offenses, warned of an insidious campaign to create female smokers. Murad and Helmar cigarette advertisements showed Western-looking women in Turkish harem costumes introducing a daring new idea by introducing a daring new exotic setting.⁸⁸

In spite of the success of cigarette marketing to women, the issue of women smokers remained a controversial issue. Women also found themselves unable to smoke on ships, in railroad diners, and in train station smoking rooms. However, by the mid-1920s some

⁸⁶ Susan Wagner *Cigarette Country: Tobacco in American History and Politics*. (New York, NY: Praeger Publishers, 1971) p. 60.

⁸⁷ Stephen Fox *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertisers & Its Creators*. (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1997) p.114.

⁸⁸ Stephen Fox *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertisers & Its Creators*. (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1997) p.114.

colleges had established smoking rooms, while railroads and shipping lines relaxed their regulations.⁸⁹ Advertising further fueled this cultural revolution. In 1926, the Newell-Emmett agency daringly presented a poster showing a woman perched beside a man in a romantic moonlit seaside scene saying, “Blow some my way.” These four words were shocking to many people. Yet Chesterfield persistently continued the campaign, paving the way to the immense women’s market.⁹⁰ From 1920 to 1928, while the production of pipe tobacco fell by 9 percent and that of cigars by 20 percent, cigarette production increased 123 percent to 106 billion units per year.⁹¹

During the 1930s, Lucky Strike led cigarette sales and alternated with Camel for the number one spot. During the Depression years, two new players effectively entered the market. Even though hundreds of companies were trying to enter the domestic cigarette market, only Philip Morris, a small independent producer, and Brown & Williamson, a subsidiary of British-American Tobacco Company, were successful.⁹² The tobacco industry was able to maintain profits through the Depression by voluntary health claims and endorsements.

Health claims during the late 1920s and 1930s varied from claims that a particular brand caused less throat irritation and coughing, to aiding digestion and improving concentration and disposition or even as a remedy for the cold and flu.⁹³ This time period is unique because of the positive health claims that the cigarette industry made regarding health. This uniqueness is partially due to the competitive nature of the cigarette industry at the time⁹⁴ and the lack of regulation. For instance, No one had ever heard of a “coughless”

⁸⁹ Juliann Sivulka *Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes: A Cultural History of American Advertising*. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1998) pp. 166-167.

⁹⁰ Sivulka, Juliann *Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes: A Cultural History of American Advertising*. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1998) pp. 166-167.

⁹¹ Stephen Fox *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertisers & Its Creators*. (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1997) p.114.

⁹² Robert H. Miles *Coffin Nails and Corporate Strategies*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1982) p. 32.

⁹³ Debra J Ringold & Calfee, J. E. The Informational Content of Cigarette Advertising 1926-1986. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 8 (1989): 1-23.

⁹⁴ John E. Calfee & Ringold, Debra J. What can we learn from the informational content of cigarette advertising? A reply and further analysis. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 9, (1990): 30-42.

cigarette before Old Gold appeared...No rasping...No coughing...with “not a cough in the carload” and Lucky Strike’s appealed to taste and health with their slogan “It’s Toasted – No Throat Irritation.”⁹⁵ These health-related appeals were ultimately recognized as being far more detrimental to the industry than appeals to taste, texture and mildness because they reminded smokers about their own fears about smoking.⁹⁶

Opposition to Smoking in the 1920s and 1930s:

Because of the popularity of cigarettes spurred by World War I and the tax revenue that cigarette sales were earning, much of the opposition died down in the 1920s and 1930s.⁹⁷ In fact, throughout the first half of the 20th century doctors largely ignored any negative news about smoking. This is largely because anti-tobacco claims makers usually presented their findings in moral rather than medical terms.⁹⁸

Lucy Gaston remained active in the anti-tobacco cause until her death in 1924. Her goal was to completely abolish cigarette smoking by 1925. However, the thrust of her antismoking campaigns during the early 1920s centered on preventing women from smoking. Her anti-tobacco campaign slogan was “Save the Girl.” Part of the reason for her change in focus was that she conceded that men would be smokers. The best that she felt that she could do was to help prevent women from taking up the habit.⁹⁹

The Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) actively opposed the use of cigarettes among women and children. Their 1921 annual report indicated that Iowa’s anti-cigarette law had been weakened and North Dakota’s had been strengthened. The WCTU lobbied for laws prohibiting smoking at establishments where food was sold. Oregon instituted a law against smoking where food was sold and Minnesota was considering a

⁹⁵ Richard W. Pollay Filters, Flavors...Flim-Flam, Too! On “Health Information” and Policy Implications in Cigarette Advertising. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 8, (1989): 30-39.

⁹⁶ Calfee, John E. & Ringold, Debra J. What can we learn from the informational content of cigarette advertising? A reply and further analysis. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 9, (1990): 30-42.

⁹⁷ John A. Meyer “Cigarette Country” *American Heritage* 43 (1992): 72.

⁹⁸ Karen S. Miller, “Smoking Up A Storm: Public Relations and Advertising in the Construction of the Cigarette Problem 1953-1954” *Journalism Monographs*, 36 (December 1992) p. 5.

⁹⁹ Robert Sobel *They Satisfy: The Cigarette in American Life* (Garden City, NJ: Anchor Press, 1978) p. 63.

similar law. By 1927, twenty-one states had laws that prevented smoking where food was being sold. But some legislation was going the other way. In 1927 Kansas repealed a 21-year-old statute by legalizing cigarette sales.¹⁰⁰

The Anti-Narcotics Department, a federal agency that continues to fight narcotics, also took a stand against tobacco. By 1927, the Anti-Narcotics Department reported that its chapters sponsored 6,699 anti-smoking programs, distributed 580,223 pages of anti-smoking literature, and nineteen state poster contests. In essay contests, over 27,000 anti-smoking essays were submitted.¹⁰¹

When advertising smoking to women became more prominent, there was a backlash. For instance, beginning in 1928, American Tobacco Company advertised smoking Luckies as an alternative to eating candy. Chocolate manufacturers feared that women were following American Tobacco's advice and the complaints of the confectioners made news. Both the Cleveland Boy Scouts and the Sioux Falls, SD City Commission objected to billboards that depicted women smoking. Bills to restrict cigarette advertising were introduced in the states of Illinois, Michigan, and Idaho.¹⁰²

In spite of the growing acceptance of the habit, the consequences of cigarette smoking became evident in the 1920s and 1930s when physicians began to notice cases of a very rare form of cancer, lung cancer, were accumulating at an alarming rate. Dr. John Harvey Kellogg, who gained much of his fame from breakfast cereal, published *Tobaccoism, Or How Tobacco Kills* in 1923. In this publication Kellogg claimed that nine out of ten smokers suffered from mouth and throat cancers. Another physician named Dr. Alton Ochsner stated in 1936, "All of the afflicted patients were men who smoked heavily and had smoked since World War I...I had the temerity, at that time, to postulate that the probable cause of this new epidemic was cigarette use."¹⁰³ A 1932 paper in the *American Journal of*

¹⁰⁰ Michael Schudson *Advertising: The Uneasy Persuasion* (New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc., 1984) p. 196.

¹⁰¹ Michael Schudson *Advertising: The Uneasy Persuasion* (New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc., 1984) p. 196.

¹⁰² Michael Schudson *Advertising: The Uneasy Persuasion* (New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc., 1984) p. 196.

¹⁰³ John A. Meyer "Cigarette Country" *American Heritage* 43 (1992): 72.

Cancer accurately blamed the tars in cigarettes for the formation of cancer. This was the first major study to make the connection.¹⁰⁴ In 1936 study, Drs. Aaron Arkin and David Wagner found lung cancer in 90% of their patients that were chronic smokers.¹⁰⁵

In January 1930, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) passed some of its first cigarette advertising regulations. These regulations related to testimonials that Lucky Strike created that included testimonials from celebrities who did not smoke. The FTC ruled that American Tobacco Company must stop running advertising that featured the testimonies of endorsers who had never used their product. Further, American Tobacco Company was forced to identify paid testimonials. And, American Tobacco Company should no longer claim that smoking cigarettes aids in weight control.¹⁰⁶

Cigarette Advertising and Promotion WWII - 1963:

Like World War I, World War II gave cigarette smoking an enormous boost. Cigarettes were sold at military-post exchanges and ship's stores tax-free and virtually at cost. They also were distributed free in the forward areas and were packaged in K rations.¹⁰⁷ Tobacco producers got as much free publicity as they could want during the war. Both Winston Churchill with his cigar and Franklin D. Roosevelt smoking his cigarette helped to advertise tobacco.¹⁰⁸ Prior to World War II, it had been socially unacceptable for women to smoke heavily. After the war it became much more widely accepted.¹⁰⁹

Of any industry, the cigarette business was probably the most eager to invest in television commercials. Tobacco was sponsoring prime time programming such as "Arthur Godfrey and His Friends," "The Chesterfield Supper Club," "Stop the Music," and "Your Lucky Strike Theatre." Rosser Reeves, the chairman of the Ted Bates agency, which was

¹⁰⁴ John A. Meyer, "Cigarette Country" *American Heritage* 43 (1992): 72.

¹⁰⁵ Karen S. Miller, "Smoking Up A Storm: Public Relations and Advertising in the Construction of the Cigarette Problem 1953-1954" *Journalism Monographs*, 36 (December 1992) p. 5.

¹⁰⁶ Stephen Fox *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertisers & Its Creators*. (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1997) p.116.

¹⁰⁷ John A. Meyer "Cigarette Country" *American Heritage* 43 (1992): 72.

¹⁰⁸ Karen S. Miller, "Smoking Up A Storm: Public Relations and Advertising in the Construction of the Cigarette Problem 1953-1954" *Journalism Monographs*, 36 (December 1992) p. 6.

¹⁰⁹ John A. Meyer "Cigarette Country" *American Heritage* 43 (1992): 72.

responsible for the hardest of the hard sell in cigarette advertising on television during the 1950s, said that selling cigarettes was “just like wiring the slot machine to keep paying out a perpetual jackpot. My boy, it was just like printing money.”¹¹⁰

Although cigarette smoking was a popular habit, evidence was rapidly accumulating regarding the potential health risks of smoking during the 1950s. The press reported on various epidemiological studies providing statistical links between smoking and cancer. While some physicians remained among the doubters, medical opinion began to swing toward the opinion it holds today.¹¹¹ The sharp decline in sales that resulted panicked the industry. The number of health claims in cigarette advertisements peaked in the 1950s reaching their greatest level of intensity from 1950-55.¹¹² The negative health claims used to help persuade the public often reinforced consumer fears. While these health claims might benefit the brand, they tended to harm competitors and injure the cigarette industry in general because the “less harmful than...” claim suggests that other brands are more harmful.¹¹³ Therefore, health claims are used primarily by upstart or struggling cigarette brands to gain a market edge on the more prominent brands. Health claims quickly declined after the 1955 FTC guidelines and, later, the 1960 FTC ban on tar and nicotine claims.¹¹⁴

The cigarette industry responded to the health claims of the 1950s with the introduction of filtered cigarettes. Since Lorillard introduced its filter, competition in filtering power became a key marketing strategy.¹¹⁵ The advertisements for Kent’s Micronite filters

¹¹⁰ Thomas Whiteside, *Selling Death: Cigarette Advertising and Public Health*. (New York: NY, Liveright, 1970) pp. 28-29.

¹¹¹ J. L. Solo, “Exorcising the Ghost of Cigarette Advertising Past: Collusion, Regulation, and Fear Advertising” *Journal of Macromarketing* 21 (2001): pp. 135-145.

¹¹² Debra J. Ringold & Calfee, J. E. The Informational Content of Cigarette Advertising 1926-1986. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 8 (1989): pp. 1-23.

¹¹³ Richard W. Pollay Filters, Flavors...Flim-Flam, Too! On “Health Information” and Policy Implications in Cigarette Advertising. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 8, (1989): pp. 30-39.

¹¹⁴ Debra J. Ringold & Calfee, J. E. The Informational Content of Cigarette Advertising 1926-1986. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 8 (1989): pp. 1-23.

¹¹⁵ Steve Craig and Terry Moellinger “So Rich, Mild, and Fresh’: A Critical Look at TV Cigarette Commercials, 1948-1971.” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 25 (January 2001): p.55.

claimed, “Kent offers the greatest health protection in cigarette history.”¹¹⁶ Micronite was described as “pure, dust-free, completely harmless material that is so safe, so effective, that it is actually used to help filter the air in hospital operating rooms.” However, the Kent advertisements did not mention the fact that Micronite is made from asbestos. The campaign was launched just after researchers had linked asbestos to a host of respiratory ailments.¹¹⁷

Filters appealed to smokers because they appeared to offer a more healthful alternative. The new brands presented their advertising firms with a formidable challenge. Consequently, cigarette advertising embarked on what has become known as the “filter wars.”¹¹⁸ Rosser Reeves called this rivalry “one of the most vicious running advertising dog fights in our advertising history.”¹¹⁹ In response to the challenge, the industry used several approaches to sell filtered cigarettes. One is to discuss tar and nicotine yield and other explicit health matters. Filters are also advertised for what they do not do. For instance they do not impede taste. Finally, one can talk up filter quality without saying exactly what the filter achieves. For example, “Twice as many filters in the Viceroy Tip...”¹²⁰ The advertisements never mentioned reducing carcinogens because the filters could not effectively eliminate them. Another problem was that was when the filters were most effective; they removed a large portion of the nicotine in the smoke. As nicotine is the addictive ingredient in cigarettes, smokers were unsatisfied and left craving more. Other strategies included using stronger tobaccos and loosening the materials inside the filter tip

¹¹⁶ Michael F. Jacobson & Mazur, Laurie A. *Marketing Madness: A Survival Guide for a Consumer Society*. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995) p.150.

¹¹⁷ Jacobson, Michael F. & Mazur, Laurie A. *Marketing Madness: A Survival Guide for a Consumer Society*. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995) p.150.

¹¹⁸ Steve Craig and Terry Moellinger “‘So Rich, Mild, and Fresh’: A Critical Look at TV Cigarette Commercials, 1948-1971.” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 25 (January 2001): p.55.

¹¹⁹ Thomas Whiteside, *Selling Death: Cigarette Advertising and Public Health*. (New York: NY, Liveright, 1970) pp. 3-5.

¹²⁰ John E. Calfee & Ringold, Debra J. What can we learn from the informational content of cigarette advertising? A reply and further analysis. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 9, (1990): 30-42.

making it less effective. However, as a result of their successful marketing, filters made up 20 percent of the market by 1955.¹²¹

Meanwhile, the non-filtered brands struggled to stop their loss of customers to filters. Their biggest selling point was that by not having filters they continued to deliver “full taste” to their customers. The unfiltered Camels were one of the best selling brands in the pre-filtered days. To avoid losing its prominence, Camel launched a campaign around the question, “Are you smoking more now, but enjoying it less?” But for most other unfiltered brands, including unfiltered Camels, it was a losing battle. Eventually the unfiltered brands had to develop filtered versions.¹²²

In addition to health related appeals, many cigarette advertisements used sex appeals. Women’s objections to sex-based advertisements and narrow social roles went largely unrecognized during the 1950s. The advertising image of women as happy homemakers had always worked, and traditionally few women had voiced the aspiration for more from life than this role could offer.¹²³ Many cigarette advertisements reinforced views of women that seem extremely traditional or even sexist to the 21st century reader. Cigarette advertisements also used celebrities to promote their brand of cigarettes. One early advertisement featured Broadway star Patricia Morison introduced as “one whose beauty and talent carried her to stardom.” Morrison, smoking a cigarette, says “There is nothing quite like Camels. They taste so good and they are so mild.”¹²⁴

Opposition to Smoking WWII – 1963:

Although a few doctors and scientists continued their research, the issue of smoking and health largely disappeared during World War II. The lack of research was a result of a

¹²¹ Steve Craig and Terry Moellinger “‘So Rich, Mild, and Fresh’: A Critical Look at TV Cigarette Commercials, 1948-1971.” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 25 (January 2001): 61.

¹²² Steve Craig and Terry Moellinger “‘So Rich, Mild, and Fresh’: A Critical Look at TV Cigarette Commercials, 1948-1971.” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 25 (January 2001): 62.

¹²³ Juliann Sivulka *Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes: A Cultural History of American Advertising*. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1998) pp. 254-255.

¹²⁴ Juliann Sivulka *Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes: A Cultural History of American Advertising*. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1998) pp. 254-255

lack of funding and a feeling that anti-tobaccoism was unpatriotic. However, the research did not end completely. But, it often centered on ways that smokers could continue their habit. For instance, an optimistic study in 1948 found that patients with inactive forms of heart disease could continue to smoke in moderation.¹²⁵ In spite of the warnings, Americans were full of enthusiasm and confidence in their smoking habits during the early 1950s.¹²⁶

By the early 1950s, however, medical studies began to demonstrate close links between smoking and ill health. Four retrospective studies were published on the smoking habits of lung cancer patients. Research connecting lung cancer with smoking was done by Ernest Wynder and Evart Graham in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* in 1950, by Richard Doll and Bradford Hill in the *British Medical Journal* in 1950 and 1952, by Wynder and Graham with Adele Croninger in *Cancer Research* in 1953, and Alton Ochsner in 1952, 1953, and 1954.¹²⁷ In 1953 investigators at what is now the Sloan-Kettering Institute announced that they had induced cancer in mice by painting their backs with “tars” from cigarette smoke.¹²⁸ This research demonstrated that smoking clearly caused cancer. This incriminating research was a cause for serious concern for the tobacco industry.¹²⁹

At first, the health research relating tobacco with an increased cancer risk remained in scientific publications. The few articles that did appear in the popular press reassured smokers. For instance, *U.S. News and World Report* ran a two-page spread when Dr. Egon Lorenz of the National Cancer Institute demonstrated that smoking mice lived a normal life span. The article concluded that smoking in moderation would not cause serious health problems.¹³⁰ By July 1954, when an article in *Reader's Digest* connected general exposure to

¹²⁵ Maurine Neuberger, *Smoke Screen: Tobacco and the Public Welfare* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1963) p.23.

¹²⁶ Karen S. Miller, “Smoking Up A Storm: Public Relations and Advertising in the Construction of the Cigarette Problem 1953-1954” *Journalism Monographs*, 36 (December 1992) p. 7.

¹²⁷ Karen S. Miller, “Smoking Up A Storm: Public Relations and Advertising in the Construction of the Cigarette Problem 1953-1954” *Journalism Monographs*, 36 (December 1992) p. 7.

¹²⁸ Robert H. Miles *Coffin Nails and Corporate Strategies*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1982) p.39.

¹²⁹ Karen S. Miller, “Smoking Up A Storm: Public Relations and Advertising in the Construction of the Cigarette Problem 1953-1954” *Journalism Monographs*, 36 (December 1992) p. 7.

¹³⁰ Karen S. Miller, “Smoking Up A Storm: Public Relations and Advertising in the Construction of the Cigarette Problem 1953-1954” *Journalism Monographs*, 36 (December 1992) p. 7.

the smoking with health concerns, the general public had been made aware of the smoking-and-health issue.¹³¹

Initially, the industry responded to the health concerns with denial and buck-passing. In 1952, entertainer and broadcaster Arthur Godfrey reassured his audience by saying, “You hear things all the time that cigarettes are harmful to you... Chesterfields won’t harm your nose, throat or accessory organs.”¹³² A responsible consulting organization had vouched for it. However, industry leaders like American Tobacco Company executive Paul Hahn realized that the every-brand-for-itself campaign was doomed to failure. It would only serve to increase the public awareness of the cancer issues.¹³³

In light of all of the negative publicity, it seems that it would have been difficult for cigarette manufacturers to promote their profitable product. However, because of its virtually unlimited funds, the industry was able to purchase the best publicity that money could buy. And, by doing so, entice millions of Americans to begin or continue smoking.

The tobacco industry, assisted by its public relations consultants, won the first battle of the cancer wars. The doubt raising countered, if not deferred, the health anxieties about cigarette smoking. And, the introduction of filtered cigarettes helped to convince the public that there was a healthful alternative to quitting. The tobacco industry’s efforts matched their needs perfectly. However, the evidence was beginning to mount and the industry could only argue with the research for so long. In the wake of the landmark reports by the Royal College of Physicians in 1962 and the Surgeon General’s Report in 1964, legislation to limit or ban advertising began to take effect. Likewise, counter advertising, public service

¹³¹ Robert H. Miles *Coffin Nails and Corporate Strategies*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, (1982) 39.

¹³² David T. Courtwright “‘Carry on Smoking’: Public Relations and Advertising Strategies of American and British Tobacco Companies since 1950” *Business History*, 47 (July 2005) p.423.

¹³³ David T. Courtwright “‘Carry on Smoking’: Public Relations and Advertising Strategies of American and British Tobacco Companies since 1950” *Business History*, 47 (July 2005) p.423.

announcements, and campaigns by anti-smoking groups began to diminish the consumer base. By the mid-1970s the number of smokers began to plummet.¹³⁴

The Tobacco Industry and Advertising Regulation:

The Industry and Regulations in the 1950s:

When it became clear that the anti-smoking crusade was making progress with the public, the cigarette makers used the media to distribute a message of their own. The tobacco industry needed a united front. In December 1953 Hahn and other industry executives met in New York's Plaza Hotel to create the Tobacco Industry Research Committee (TIRC). The purpose of TIRC was to promote the idea that the case against smoking had not been proven.¹³⁵

The TIRC was endowed by a self-imposed one cent per 4,000 cigarette tax, plus additional funding as needed. The TIRC hired Hill and Knowlton, a leading public relations firm with headquarters in the Empire State Building, to direct daily operations. It ran full-page advertisements that denied the harms of smoking and made its own statements about tobacco and health to cast doubt upon the harms of smoking.¹³⁶ *Business Week* called Hill and Knowlton's work "one of PR's best finger-in-the-dike jobs" ever.¹³⁷

Both health professionals and the tobacco industry depended on the news media to provide information and opinions about cigarette smoking. The information on cigarettes consisted of two basic messages, "smoking is a health hazard" and "there is conflicting scientific evidence about smoking." However, the tobacco industry had an advantage in the battle for media coverage because of their expert advertising and public relations

¹³⁴ David T. Courtwright "Carry on Smoking?: Public Relations and Advertising Strategies of American and British Tobacco Companies since 1950" *Business History*, 47 (July 2005) p.426.

¹³⁵ Karen S. Miller *The Voice of Business: Hill & Knowlton and Postwar Public Relations* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999) p. 123. "Public Relations Today" *Business Week* (2 July 1960), 11, Box 42, Biographical Clippings, JWH.

¹³⁶ David T. Courtwright "Carry on Smoking?: Public Relations and Advertising Strategies of American and British Tobacco Companies since 1950" *Business History*, 47 (July 2005) p.423.

¹³⁷ Karen S. Miller *The Voice of Business: Hill & Knowlton and Postwar Public Relations* (1999) The University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, NC p. 123. "Public Relations Today" *Business Week* (2 July 1960), 11, Box 42, Biographical Clippings, JWH.

practitioners. Although the tobacco industry could not prevent the media coverage of the medical reports about the harms of smoking, they could insist that there were two sides to the story. By insisting that two sides of the tobacco story needed public attention, Hill & Knowlton convinced journalists to include their side of the story in their coverage of tobacco related issues.¹³⁸

The tobacco industry's perspectives and interests were also nurtured and protected by the Tobacco Institute, a nonprofit organization created by the tobacco industry and Hill and Knowlton in 1958. Its membership consisted of the major U.S. manufacturers of cigarettes, smoking and chewing tobacco, and snuff: The Bloch Brothers Tobacco Company, Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corporation, Conwood Corporation, G.A. Georgopulo & Company, Helme Products, Larus & Brother Company, Liggett & Myers, Lorillard, Phillip Morris Incorporated, R. J. Reynolds Industries, Scotten-Dillion Company, and United States Tobacco Company. The Institute received financial support from the contributions from the large tobacco firms according to their share of the market. The Institute promoted pro-tobacco medical research, attempted to discredit anti-smoking publicity, published information on the historical role of tobacco, its place in the national economy, the industry itself, and the public's use of tobacco products.¹³⁹

In 1955, two years after the Sloan-Kettering report linking smoking to cancer, the FTC imposed the first advertising guidelines¹⁴⁰. In mid-September 1954, the FTC announced its intention to issue a set of Cigarette Advertising Guides and circulated a set of those guides for industry comment. After about one year of comment with the tobacco industry, the FTC formally announced the guides on September 22, 1955. These guides signified the FTC's intention to seek injunctions against any advertising that:

¹³⁸ Karen S. Miller *The Voice of Business: Hill & Knowlton and Postwar Public Relations* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999) p. 122.

¹³⁹ Jane L. McGrew "History of Tobacco Regulation" based on a paper prepared for the National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse. DrugLibrary.org <http://www.druglibrary.org/schaffer/Library/studies/nc/nc2b.htm> [July 19, 2005].

¹⁴⁰ Robert H. Miles *Coffin Nails and Corporate Strategies*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1982) p. 39.

1. made references to “either the presence or absence of any physical effect of smoking”;
2. represented that a cigarette brand “contained less nicotine, tars, acids, resins, or other substances” than other brands unless the claim and its significance could be supported by reputable scientific proof;
3. made references to smoking on the “(a) nose, throat, larynx, or other parts of the respiratory tract, (b) digestive system, (c) nerves, (d) any other part of the body, or (e) energy”; or
4. represented “medical approval of cigarette smoking.”¹⁴¹

The Public Health Service’s Surgeon General Leroy F. Barney M.D. issued his first statement on the subject of tobacco in the Journal of the American Medical Association in November of 1959.¹⁴² Then, in June of 1961, the American Heart Association, the American Cancer Society, and the National Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association requested that a commission be created “to consider the responsibilities of government, of business and voluntary agencies relative to the health hazards of cigarette smoking and to recommend a solution to this health problem that would protect the public and would interfere least with the happiness of individuals.”¹⁴³

The 1960s and the Surgeon General’s Report:

On June 7, 1962, U.S. Surgeon General Luther Terry announced the creation of an Advisory Committee on Smoking and Health.¹⁴⁴ With the approval of President John F. Kennedy, the Surgeon General established an “expert committee to undertake a comprehensive review of all data on smoking and health.” The members of the committee were respected scientists who had no previous opinions on the subject of cigarette smoking and health. Each of the members was approved for the appointment by the tobacco

¹⁴¹ J. L. Solo “Exorcising the Ghost of Cigarette Advertising Past: Collusion, Regulation, and Fear Advertising” *Journal of Macromarketing* 21 (2001): p.137.

¹⁴² J. L. Solo “Exorcising the Ghost of Cigarette Advertising Past: Collusion, Regulation, and Fear Advertising” *Journal of Macromarketing* 21 (2001): p.137.

¹⁴³ Jane L. McGrew “History of Tobacco Regulation” based on a paper prepared for the National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse. DrugLibrary.org <http://www.druglibrary.org/schaffer/Library/studies/nc/nc2b.htm> [July 19, 2005].

¹⁴⁴ Robert H. Miles *Coffin Nails and Corporate Strategies*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1982) 39.

industry, the American Medical Association, and several other national health agencies. Cigarette smokers comprised half of the committee members.¹⁴⁵

Also during June of 1962, the Tobacco Institute released a statement announcing that the tobacco industry had always taken the stance that “smoking is a custom for adults.” Following that position, a number of companies decided to cease advertising in college publications and engaging in other campus endorsements.¹⁴⁶ The cigarette industry had become the biggest single source of revenue for many college newspapers. For years, most companies had been conducting campaigns to convince university students to smoke their specific brands, both by purchasing advertising in college publications and through the activities of paid “campus representatives” who gave away sample packs.¹⁴⁷

The Institute’s declaration that cigarette smoking was “a custom for adults” and, consequently, not one for non-adults, did have one result that applied on a broader basis than just the college level. In the fall of 1963, the American Tobacco Company began an extensive campaign for Lucky Strike cigarettes that contained the statement that “smoking is a pleasure that is meant for adults.” However, the statement was followed by the sentence, “Lucky Strike Separates the Men from the Boys...but not from the Girls.” Advertising creatives, apparently setting out to illustrate the theme that cigarettes are not for boys, achieved the opposite by illustrating that smoking Lucky Strike turns boys into men.¹⁴⁸

Then on January 11, 1964, after 15 months of intensive study, the Advisory Committee to the Surgeon General released its monumental statement that changed the tobacco industry forever. Its two most important findings were that cigarette smoking was a

¹⁴⁵ Jane L. McGrew “History of Tobacco Regulation” based on a paper prepared for the National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse. DrugLibrary.org <http://www.druglibrary.org/schaffer/Library/studies/nc/nc2b.htm> [July 19, 2005].

¹⁴⁶ Susan Wagner *Cigarette Country: Tobacco in American History and Politics*. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971) p. 122.

Thomas Whiteside, *Selling Death: Cigarette Advertising and Public Health*. (New York, NY: Liveright, 1970) pp. 28-29.

¹⁴⁷ Susan Wagner *Cigarette Country: Tobacco in American History and Politics*. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971) p. 122.

¹⁴⁸ Robert H. Miles *Coffin Nails and Corporate Strategies*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1982) p. 39.

health hazard of great enough importance to merit immediate action and that cigarette smoking is causally related to lung cancer.¹⁴⁹ According to the American Cancer Society, “The report produced shock waves, there was an immediate public reaction, and a sharp, albeit short-lived, drop in cigarette sales.”¹⁵⁰

The Surgeon General’s Report and the Advertising Industry:

After the Surgeon General’s Report was issued, the New Yorker and other magazines banned cigarette advertising. Advertising executive David Ogilvy, whose brother died of lung cancer after a lifetime of heavy cigarette smoking, and William Bernbach announced that their agencies would no longer accept cigarette accounts. Emerson Foote resigned as chairman of McCann-Erickson in protest against its continued handling of cigarettes. Foote had been active in the American Cancer Society since 1945. CBS told its producers to minimize smoking in network shows, and Frank Stanton, the president of CBS, urged the network to prohibit cigarette commercials.

Because of the public pressure, the tobacco industry made a few concessions. It adopted an advertising code in 1964 that stopped pitches aimed at young people and outlawed claims that smoking would improve health, ease tensions, or enhance sexual success. Simultaneously, the tobacco industry, the third largest advertiser on network television, continued to increase its television advertising budgets, to a total of over \$200 million.¹⁵¹

In addition to the large television budgets, the tobacco industry was dispensing millions of dollars for research designed to show the harmlessness of smoking. Tobacco lobbyists and congressmen tried to defeat or cripple any extension of federal regulation. However, the cigarette industry was more skeptical from the advertising industry. In

¹⁴⁹ Thomas Whiteside, *Selling Death: Cigarette Advertising and Public Health*. (New York, NY: Liveright, 1970) pp. 28-29.

¹⁵⁰ Thomas Whiteside, *Selling Death: Cigarette Advertising and Public Health*. (New York, NY: Liveright, 1970) pp. 41-42.

¹⁵¹ Stephen Fox *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertisers & Its Creators*. (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1997) p. 304.

addition to refusing to take cigarette accounts, many creatives were moonlighting for the American Society and producing anti-smoking materials. However, a few holdouts remained. Mary Wells Lawrence believed that if a product can be legally sold, the company should have the right to advertise it. Her creative work for the Benson & Hedges cigarettes' advertising campaigns sent her agency flying. She opposed the idea of a broadcasting ban, protesting that it would be un-American.¹⁵²

The historic findings of the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee also served as a catalyst for numerous industry guidelines. In 1965, for example, the Trade Regulation Rules on Cigarette Labeling and Advertising became effective, in 1967 the Federal Communications Commission (FTC) entered the smoking-and-health controversy through the application of the "Fairness Doctrine" in broadcasting and radio, and in 1970 the Federal Trade Commission persuaded Congress to pass the Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act that banned cigarette advertising from radio and television and required unequivocal warning labels on cigarette packages. As a result of the 1970 legislation, the tobacco industry volunteered to publish nicotine, tar levels, and health warnings in all advertisements.¹⁵³

Although it is difficult to measure the influence of advertising and public relations on the public's beliefs and behaviors related to cigarette smoking directly, many studies suggest a correlation. In 1957, the tobacco industry's research showed that two thirds of audience believed that the U.S. government had not done a sufficient job of warning the public about the harms of smoking. And, they believed that cigarette manufacturers were not to blame. Among adults, the belief that smoking caused lung cancer rose from 41 percent in 1954 to 50 percent in 1957. However, the numbers decreased to 44 percent by 1958. The year

¹⁵² Stephen Fox *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertisers & Its Creators*. (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1997) p. 305.

¹⁵³ Miles, Robert H. *Coffin Nails and Corporate Strategies*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1982) p. 44.

following the Surgeon General's Report, the total leaped to 66 percent. Since that time, the number of smokers has generally declined.¹⁵⁴

Summary:

Cigarette producers have long claimed that their marketing and advertising efforts endeavor only to convince smokers to switch brands. However, advertising has proven to be an effective method for replenishing the ranks of smokers. For instance, estimates from the World Health Organization state that nearly 3.5 million people die each year as a result of smoking. In spite of the industry's claims to the contrary, the cigarette industry's primary goal was winning new smokers years ago.¹⁵⁵ In fact, Duke set his sights on winning a young from the very beginning. According to a 1950s article in the U.S. Tobacco Journal, "A massive potential exists among women and young adults, cigarette industry leaders agreed, acknowledging that recruitment of these millions of prospective smokers comprises the major objective for the immediate future and on a long term basis as well."¹⁵⁶

Although the tobacco industry is a very heavily researched industry and a great deal of research relates to tobacco marketing and promotion, no history exists that focuses on the most blatant targeting of youth and young adults in American history. Using college publications to target students is evidence that supports the argument that the tobacco industry considered its product to be a product that appealed to the student market.

¹⁵⁴ Karen S. Miller *The Voice of Business: Hill & Knowlton and Postwar Public Relations* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999) p. 145; Gerstein and Levison, *Reduced Tar and Nicotine Cigarettes*, p. 11. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, *Reducing the Health Consequences*, pp.189-190.

¹⁵⁵ Tara Parker-Pope *Cigarettes: Anatomy of an Industry from Seed to Smoke* (New York, NY: The New Press, 2001) p. 99.

¹⁵⁶ Tara Parker-Pope *Cigarettes: Anatomy of an Industry from Seed to Smoke* (New York, NY: The New Press, 2001) p. 99.

Chapter Three: The Tobacco Industry and the American University

Tobacco and University Life:

Tobacco has had a long relationship with the university and intellectualism in general. Both pipes and cigarettes have been associated with the intellectual elite. However, what is less well known is the influence the tobacco industry had on university campuses through the employment of campus representatives, contests, and advertising in student newspapers. In addition to its marketing efforts on campus, university professors and researchers were improving the tobacco crop through the establishment of tobacco research stations. Therefore, the tobacco industry and the university had what some might call a symbiotic relationship. And, the most visible manifestation of this relationship is seen in the prevalence of tobacco advertising on university campuses.

Opposition to Smoking on College and University Campuses:

Smoking on college and university campuses was becoming increasingly prevalent starting in the late 1920s. The idea that men smoked in higher education had been accepted for years. Pipes, specifically, were associated with intellectualism. And, the fact that a growing number of women were smoking was attracting national attention. From the turn of the century to the early 1920s, it was taboo for women to smoke in public places. Smoking on college campuses was an especially hot topic because the majority of women attending college were being trained in the field of education. The public strongly disapproved of the prospect of elementary school teachers who smoked. Therefore, many colleges and universities forbade female students to smoke. However, by the 1930s, the issue had been settled in the minds of most people. Like it or not, women smoked in the institutions of higher learning.¹⁵⁷

In 1919 Vassar College, in Poughkeepsie, New York, went on record as being opposed to women smoking. The Students' Association voted: "No Vassar student shall

¹⁵⁷ Kerry Segrave *Women and Smoking in America, 1880-1950*. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company Publishers, 2005) p. 156.

smoke while under the jurisdiction of the college, this rule to be enforced under the honor system." However, the rule was changed in 1925 "to lay responsibility on the individual permitting her to smoke inconspicuously."¹⁵⁸ Smoking was prohibited in dormitories and other college buildings. Burgess Johnson, a professor in the English department and director of publicity, stated, "[The college] voted against the proposition; I am told. I have not heard of the students smoking and the students have never asked permission to smoke."¹⁵⁹

In December of 1921 the University of Chicago president Harry Pratt Judson banned smoking in women's dormitories. Accustomed to making their own rules, the dormitory women suddenly were confronted with a notice from the housemothers against the cigarette. No explanation was officially offered, but rumor had it that the dean of women and others on campus protested against what was thought to be excessive smoking by female students.¹⁶⁰

The *New York Times* also reported on smoking policies at Radcliffe and Smith.¹⁶¹ It was front-page news that M.I.T. allowed young women to smoke at dances. Goucher College prohibited students from smoking both on campus and at public places in Baltimore. A study at Bryn Mar showed that less than half of its female students smoked. Bryn Mar's self-government association petitioned the college president for a smoking room and the president consented and repealed the previous smoking ban.¹⁶² The *New York Times* editorially endorsed the Bryn Mar decision in condescending tones. The *Times* said that by allowing cigarettes in certain places, "what once was a feat of defiance becomes rather a bore..."¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ "Vassar History 1915-1922" http://faculty.vassar.edu/daniels/1915_1922.html#02201919-01 [Retrieved January 16, 2007]

¹⁵⁹ Kerry Segrave *Women and Smoking in America, 1880-1950*. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company Publishers, 2005) p. 98.

¹⁶⁰ Kerry Segrave *Women and Smoking in America, 1880-1950*. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company Publishers, 2005) p. 99.

¹⁶¹ *New York Times*, March 2, 1925 on Radcliffe and *New York Times*, November 20, 1925 on Smith.

¹⁶² Michael Schudson *Advertising: The Uneasy Persuasion* (New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc. 1984) p. 189.

¹⁶³ *New York Times*, November 24, 1925 p.1 and November 25, 1925 p. 20

By 1925, one third of the women at The Ohio State University said that they smoked at least on occasion. And, in 1924, a student leader at Rhode Island State claimed, “practically all girls smoke.” The student newspaper at the University of Illinois covered the issue of women smoking often in 1924 and made it clear that progressive students felt that it was perfectly acceptable for students to smoke.¹⁶⁴

Late in 1929, George W. Stephens, the Dean at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, reiterated a long-standing faculty decision that smoking by female students was not permitted at Washington University. This ruling included all university related social functions. In 1930, a report from Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, stated that 44 out of the 400 women attending Bucknell University were prevented from walking on campus and having dates for the next six months as a result of their admissions that they smoked in their rooms. A self-governing student organization assigned the penalty. Likewise, Charles McKenny, president of Michigan State Normal College in Ypsilanti, told a group of women in 1931 that no woman known to smoke in public places would be allowed to graduate. The reasoning behind McKenny’s statement was that he believed that the people of Michigan would not be likely to hire a schoolteacher who smoked.

However, some schools denied any smoking problems among their female students. James M. Kierman, the president of New York City’s Hunter College, maintained that, “Smoking hasn’t much of a grip on our girls yet.” He also continued by mentioning that the school paper was accepting money from tobacco but he didn’t expect that it would influence the female students’ smoking habits. However, the college eventually set up a smoking room for its female students. Many other campuses followed by restricting smoking on campus based on gender.¹⁶⁵

As late as November of 1933, certain schools prohibited cigarette advertising that featured women. For instance, in a letter to the R.J. Reynolds advertising department, the

¹⁶⁴ Michael Schudson *Advertising: The Uneasy Persuasion* (New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc. 1984) p. 189.

¹⁶⁵ Kerry Segrave *Women and Smoking in America, 1880-1950*. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company Publishers, 2005) p. 157.

Arkansas State Teacher's College *Echo*, San Jose State Teacher's College *College Times*, Drake University *Times-Delphic*, Holy Cross *Tomahawk*, and the Tennessee Polytechnic Institute *Tech Oracle* were listed as schools that could not accept cigarette advertising featuring women.¹⁶⁶

Although women were gradually gaining permission to smoke on campus, many were agitated by the idea of women smoking outside. As late as 1937 a market research firm found that 95 percent of male smokers smoked in the street but only 28 percent thought that it was right for women to do likewise. Because women felt conspicuous smoking outside, they started smoking inside in places where men had never smoked. For instance, they smoked inside of railroad diners, retail stores, and art galleries. Because of the taboo, colleges and universities established smoking rooms in dormitories. For instance, Smith College announced that smoking was restricted to two fireproof rooms.¹⁶⁷

By 1937, bans on smoking on campus were the exception rather than the rule. More and more women smoked in public in the United States in general during this period of time. Between 1918 and 1928, American tobacco sales increased fourfold. In 1900 cigarette consumption, as part of the tobacco industry as a whole, was just two percent. By 1930 cigarettes accounted for 40 percent of tobacco consumption. Much of that increase was due to the dramatic change in the image of the cigarette as more men switched to cigarette smoking from other forms of tobacco use and more women began to smoke.¹⁶⁸

Opposition to smoking on college campuses disappeared during the 1940s. One reason for this is the fact that the tobacco industry shifted the front lines of its marketing campaign to the armed forces due to the war effort. A second reason is that as an American product, cigarette smoking was considered to be a patriotic habit.

¹⁶⁶ "Letter to R.J Reynolds on November 15, 1933." Bates: 50180-8113 www.tobaccodocuments.org [Retrieved on June 30, 2006].

¹⁶⁷ Michael Schudson *Advertising: The Uneasy Persuasion* (New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc. 1984) p. 191.

¹⁶⁸ Kerry Segrave *Women and Smoking in America, 1880-1950*. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company Publishers, 2005) p. 159.

Cigarette Promotion on Campus 1950-1963:

Unlike the 1920s and 1930s, during the 1950s and 1960s cigarettes attained the full acceptance of the college and university community. Young college men and women were both given as much liberty as possible to smoke on campus. And, the tobacco industry was given complete freedom to promote its product.

For instance, among New York State's many colleges and universities, Cortland State Teachers College was distinguished for its training program for physical education teachers. In 1961 the Cortland Alpha Delta Delta sorority won first-place in a contest sponsored by Phillip Morris. For engineering the consumption of 1,520,000 Phillip Morris cigarettes and redeeming the empty packages, the young women of Alpha Delta Delta were awarded a magnificent high-fidelity phonograph.¹⁶⁹

Although winning the Phillip Morris prize was an accomplishment, the personal price for the women of Alpha Delta was high. As the deadline for cigarette package collection drew near, the sorority house was immersed with a crisis psychology. The continued smoking of Phillip Morris brands at a breathless pace became a badge of loyalty. One sorority member was compelled to abandon her relatively mild filtered cigarette for the non-filtered Phillip Morris. The reluctant sorority sister who dared to venture into the open without smoking a Phillip Morris cigarette risked displeasure or even ostracism.¹⁷⁰

But, the Alpha Delta Delta sorority won its new hi-fidelity phonograph. And, Phillip Morris won the loyalty and gratitude of future physical education teachers whose enthusiasm for teaching the hazards of cigarette smoking might be significantly reduced.¹⁷¹

Similarly, a Columbia University student was constructing a replica of the United Nations headquarters from six thousand Marlboro and Parliament boxes. For the collegiate

¹⁶⁹ Maureen Neuberger *Smoke Screen: Tobacco and the Public Welfare* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1963) p. 46.

¹⁷⁰ Maureen Neuberger *Smoke Screen: Tobacco and the Public Welfare* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1963) p. 46.

¹⁷¹ Maureen Neuberger *Smoke Screen: Tobacco and the Public Welfare* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1963) p. 46.

poets, Liggett and Myers held out the lure of eight British Sprite sports cars to be awarded to the best limerick, plus the bottom panels from five Chesterfield, L&M or Oasis packages. And, to the sports-minded students, Brown and Williamson presented cash prizes to those who successfully predicted the outcome of selected football games. The cash prizes ranged from ten to 100 dollars.¹⁷²

The prevalence of college contests was a mere symptom of the umbrella spread by the cigarette companies over every conceivable variety of campus activity. Campus newspapers abounded with cigarette advertisements tailored to their collegiate audience. Tobacco companies typically contributed a staggering 40 percent of all national advertising placed in college newspapers. The collegian that developed a taste for the irreverent humor of Max Shulman could find him selling the virtues of Marlboros in nearly every college publication. Meanwhile, American Tobacco Companies copywriters assured undergraduates that the “Important things in college life stay the same. Parties. Girls. Luckies.” Some advertisements were even more obvious in their approach. Some typical slogans included, “Luckies - the cigarette to start with” and “More college students smoke Luckies – than any other regular cigarette.”¹⁷³

Brown and Williamson had at least seventeen salesmen engaging their energies as Viceroy, Kool and Raleigh Santa Clauses at various colleges. Likewise, Phillip Morris selected worthy students on 166 college campuses as “campus representatives,” paying each \$50 a month to spread the good cheer and complimentary Marlboros. No fraternity party, political rally, or tea for international students escaped the presence of the Phillip Morris representatives.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² Maureen Neuberger *Smoke Screen: Tobacco and the Public Welfare* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1963) p. 47.

¹⁷³ Maureen Neuberger *Smoke Screen: Tobacco and the Public Welfare* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1963) p. 47.

¹⁷⁴ Maureen Neuberger *Smoke Screen: Tobacco and the Public Welfare* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1963) p. 48.

It is possible that after the contests were won, the samples consumed, and the advertising messages burned into the memory of the nation's undergraduates, one or another uncooperative student still declined to smoke. But, the imaginative R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company established a program with the collegiate-sounding name "The Line-Backer" system. Reynolds recruited college public information officers to ensure that Camels and other company brands advertised in the football programs at many colleges and universities could be seen, admired and purchased in every possible location at the college. By promoting the Camel brand, the public information officials earned the right to participate in their own contests with foreign cars being the reward for soliciting students.¹⁷⁵

Student Publications:

The Development of the Campus Press in the United States:

Student publications are a long-established feature of college and university life. Established early, likely because of their close relationship with an academic subject, they have persisted in somewhat changing form until the present. Of all student publications, the school newspaper is the most responsive to students needs and expresses their opinions the most clearly. Although the newspaper is more transitory than the yearbook or the handbook, it normally deals with more important issues. Student newspapers are vital because they contribute to students' personal development and enhance school life.

In 1799 the first student newspaper was established at Dartmouth College.¹⁷⁶ *The Dartmouth* was a weekly paper.¹⁷⁷ Established January 28, 1878, the *Yale Daily News* is the nation's first college daily newspaper. (Usually, a daily student paper is distributed Monday through Friday during the academic year, with no publications during exam or vacation

¹⁷⁵ Maureen Neuberger *Smoke Screen: Tobacco and the Public Welfare* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1963) p. 48.

¹⁷⁶ "About The Dartmouth: Past and Present" *The Dartmouth Online* <http://www.thedartmouth.com/aboutus.php> [Retrieved November 11, 2006].

¹⁷⁷ Julius Duscha & Thomas Fischer *The Campus Press: Freedom and Responsibility*. (Washington D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1973) p. 9.

weeks). And, it is still a flourishing paper. *The News* is circulated during the academic year and serves Yale University community in New Haven, CT.¹⁷⁸ Ten years later, in 1883, the *Harvard Crimson*, originally founded in 1856 as a weekly paper named *The Magenta*, also became a daily paper.¹⁷⁹ Dozens of college newspapers existed by the turn of century in a movement that popularized the college press. These publications filled their four to six pages with “news concerning undergraduates and alumni, furnishing persuasive editorials on local affairs, and giving a truthful bulletin of the day’s doings sensibly and in small space.”¹⁸⁰

By the late 19th Century the majority of American universities and colleges had at least a weekly newspaper, and many already had dailies. By 1912 there were 400 campus periodicals listed in advertisers annuals.¹⁸¹ However, the majority of schools did not begin to publish newspapers until after World War I. Thirty-one colleges and universities in the United States published daily newspapers in 1923. And, by 1926, newspapers alone numbered 400 and circulations ranged from 500 to 5,000. *The Daily Illini* was an example of the latter. The newspaper served a community of 30,000 people as the only morning daily. The paper was printed at a university-owned plant valued at \$100,000.¹⁸² In 1929, McNeil stated that there were at least four hundred student papers being published at least twice a week. Of this number, 32 were college dailies ranging in size from four to 32 pages.¹⁸³ *School and Society* in 1929 summarized the collegiate press as follows:

Today there are thirty-two college daily newspapers in the country, about half of which use the telegraph service of some nationally known news-gathering organization...They range in size from four to thirty-two pages...

¹⁷⁸ “About the Yale Daily News” *YaleDailyNews.com* <http://www.yaledailynews.com/About.aspx> [Retrieved November 11, 2006].

¹⁷⁹ “About the Harvard Crimson” *The Harvard Crimson: Online Edition* <http://www.thecrimson.com/info/about.aspx> [Retrieved November 11, 2006].

¹⁸⁰ Bob Peterson. “Spartan Daily Debated at Friday Night Forum,” *Spartan Daily* (San Jose State College, May 4, 1964).

¹⁸¹ Edwin E. Slosson “The Possibility of a University Newspaper.” *Independent*, Vol. 72, February 15, 1912.

¹⁸² Norman Struder, “The New College Journalism” *Nation*, Vol. 122, May 26, 1926.

¹⁸³ R. H. McNeil “Training on College Newspapers” *School and Society*, 34 (March 30, 1929) pp. 419-420.

As was to be expected, the college newspaper has taken the daily newspaper at its model and has written its news stories, its headlines, its editorial, and has adapted its makeup to that of the regular dailies

In an endeavor to find out to what extent staff members receive compensation, a survey was made and answers received from 230 papers. Academic credit for work on the staff is the exception rather than the rule, according to the reports received for only six dailies, eight semi-weeklies, and forty-eight weeklies reported staff members receiving classroom credit.

When it comes to the question of receiving actual money for work on the staff, either business or editorial, it appears to be the rule that at least the editor-in-chief, while seven divide profits among members of the entire board...The amounts vary from \$100 to \$800 a year for editors of dailies.¹⁸⁴

The first intercollegiate newspaper was created in 1933 among four institutions, Mt. Holyoke, Amherst, Smith, and Massachusetts State College.¹⁸⁵ The first edition included four pages of news and sold for five cents per copy. News was carried in a light style, which was reflected in its headlines, "Smith Has Become Sandwich Conscious" and "Sprinkler System Startles Holyoke."¹⁸⁶ In 1940, *The Minnesota Daily* also achieved a first in the realm of the collegiate press. *The Minnesota Daily* experimented with tabloid journalism much to the dismay of many who complained of the smaller page size. However, the student body voted to keep the unique tabloid format.¹⁸⁷

As the popularity of higher education grew in the United States during the 20th century so did the number, size, and frequency of issue of campus newspapers. By 1970, there were more than 1200 college and university newspapers, and many of them were published daily.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ Robert H. McNeil "Training on College Newspapers" *School and Society*, Vol. 49, December, 1961.

¹⁸⁵ "Daily News: Intercollegiate Paper First to Unite Schools," *Newsweek*, Vol. 2, October 21, 1933 p. 26.

¹⁸⁶ "Daily News: Intercollegiate Paper First to Unite Schools," *Newsweek*, Vol. 2, October 21, 1933 p. 26.

¹⁸⁷ "Doiley," *Time*, Vol. 35, March 11, 1940.

¹⁸⁸ Julius Duscha & Thomas Fischer *The Campus Press: Freedom and Responsibility*. (Washington D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1973) p. 9.

Campus newspapers are a big business. By 1970 more than six million copies were printed every week. Student newspapers are usually partially supported by student-activity fees and distributed to all students. The Intercollegiate Press Association, founded in 1886, was the sole nation-wide trade association for student newspapers until 1963 when U.S. Student Press Association was created. In addition to constituting a large number of newspapers, the campus press also represents an important advertising medium. National advertisers wanting to reach a student audience relied heavily on student newspapers.¹⁸⁹

The first college and university newspapers usually were independent publications that depended on advertising and circulation for revenue. These early papers were small, had small staffs, and as a result did not need much money to survive. As public institutions of higher learning were founded and grew into large enterprises, the funding of student newspapers began to change. The campus publications began to rely more and more on college and university funds and student fees.

Because of the use of university and student funds, colleges and universities created publications boards to oversee the campus papers. Publications boards generally were comprised of both faculty and students. Usually, the student members were drawn from the publication editors. However, faculty and staff held most of the seats on the publication boards. Board duties ranged from picking student editors to trying to mediate disputes between administration and the newspaper.¹⁹⁰

In some cases, the student newspaper has been responsible to student government rather than publications boards. In such situations one problem was the amount of control the student governing board wanted to exert over the student newspapers. Sometimes the

¹⁸⁹ Julius Duscha & Thomas Fischer *The Campus Press: Freedom and Responsibility*. (Washington D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1973) p. 10.

¹⁹⁰ Julius Duscha & Thomas Fischer *The Campus Press: Freedom and Responsibility*. (Washington D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1973) p. 10.

student board directly imposed its political perspective on the newspaper. Sometimes journalism departments or schools administered student newspapers as laboratories or workshops. In this situation, the newspaper was produced under the direct supervision of the faculty.¹⁹¹

By the 1960s, nearly 1200 campus papers were governed at least in part by college or university administration. Most of these student newspapers received funding from student-activity fees or through direct appropriation of university funds. These financial ties with the institution made the colleges or universities the newspaper publishers.¹⁹²

The official recognition and support offered by the various colleges and universities involves at the same time certain obligations. By informing its readers on matters of interest and importance to members of the college community, the student newspaper plays an important role, particularly in creating a sense of “community” within the students and the college as a whole. It is also useful to the faculty and administration as a sounding board of student attitudes.¹⁹³

With such physical and financial arrangements, it was not a surprise that there was disagreement and confusion over the role of the campus newspaper. For instance, there was a great deal of debate about whether the newspaper was a student publication or if it was an official publication of the college or university. And, given the controversy, there was disagreement about who was ultimately responsible for the contents of the paper, the students or the administrators.

¹⁹¹ Julius Duscha & Thomas Fischer *The Campus Press: Freedom and Responsibility*. (Washington D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1973) p. 11.

¹⁹² Julius Duscha & Thomas Fischer *The Campus Press: Freedom and Responsibility*. (Washington D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1973) p. 21.

¹⁹³ Kenneth Stowe Devol *Major Areas of Conflict in the Control of College and University Student Daily Newspapers in the United States* (Los Angeles, CA: University of Southern California, 1965) p.47.

Often, the administrators did not elucidate the situation. Administrators either tried to back away from responsibility for the student paper or else they tried to block the appointment of editors that they perceived to be hostile to what administrators believed to be the institution's best interest.¹⁹⁴

In addition, the campus newspaper usually enjoys a monopolistic position on campus. While this alone is not unique in the publishing of a community newspaper, the importance of monopolistic status is the accompanying subsidy that enables the undergraduate publication to publish daily in large institutions.¹⁹⁵

Controversies over the Student Press:

The student press was involved in numerous controversies during the 20th century. For instance, during the 1930s student newspapers were involved in controversies such as the compulsory Reserve Officer Training (ROTC) programs on campuses and other anti-military and anti-war activities of the time. Another volatile campus issue during the 1930s was the presence of Communist organizations on college campuses. However, during the 1950s the campus press was unusually silent. This silence reflected the general mood of the time. However this silence was shattered by the civil rights movement of the early 1960s and then by student opposition to the Vietnam War.¹⁹⁶

However, Vietnam War or the civil rights movement in the 1960s did not cause most of the problems. Instead, the language and the changing mores, including vigorous advocacy and editorial treatment of the news, were at the root of most of the problems. For instance, Pennsylvania State Rep. Russell J. LaMarca said that he would withhold funding for the

¹⁹⁴ Julius Duscha & Thomas Fischer *The Campus Press: Freedom and Responsibility*. (Washington D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1973) p. 21.

¹⁹⁵ Kenneth Stowe Devol *Major Areas of Conflict in the Control of College and University Student Daily Newspapers in the United States* Los Angeles, CA: University of Southern California: The Graduate School University Press, 1965) p.47.

¹⁹⁶ Julius Duscha & Thomas Fischer *The Campus Press: Freedom and Responsibility*. (Washington D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1973) p. 22.

University of Pittsburgh if any state funds were used to finance the “obscenities and vulgarities” that he found in student publications. He stated, “I don’t feel like sending \$36 million to a university that doesn’t know what good taste is and doesn’t have the guts to inform its students what good taste is.”¹⁹⁷ Not only were state legislators discontented with the new boldness of language found in student newspapers; but so were the members of boards of trustees and regents, university presidents, parents, faculty, alumni and editors of general circulation newspapers. However, the language used by college newspapers in the 1960s that caused so much trouble is now common in newspapers and magazines.¹⁹⁸

What is expected from the Campus Newspaper?

Almost every educational institution has a newspaper. Newspapers resemble the professional press in that they seek to serve a definite group of people with news, opinions, and entertainment. Some campus papers are barely more than a bulletin while others cover local and national news.¹⁹⁹ Further, a college newspaper is a specific publication whose policies, philosophy, ethics, and articles are distinct from those of any other publication. It is an instrument that has a particular and important place in an educational institution. In many ways, the college paper expresses the policies and purposes of the institution, and reflects the effect of the educational process upon its students.²⁰⁰ In addition to educating students in the newspaper industry, the objectives of the paper also include helping the student and the

¹⁹⁷ Julius Duscha & Thomas Fischer *The Campus Press: Freedom and Responsibility*. (Washington D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1973) p. 22.

¹⁹⁸ Julius Duscha & Thomas Fischer *The Campus Press: Freedom and Responsibility*. (Washington D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1973) p. 22.

¹⁹⁹ Schoonover, Robert Andrew *Working relations of faculty advisers to student staffs on collegiate newspapers*. (Washington D.C.: American University, 1962) p.11.

²⁰⁰ Herman A. Estrin “What is a College Newspaper?” In *Freedom and Censorship of the College Press* Herman A. Estrin & Arthur M. Sanderson eds., (Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown Publishers, 1966) p.14.

college or university understand each other and promoting a greater desire to participate in student activities.²⁰¹

One of the basic problems for the student press during turbulent times, like the 1930s, 1940s, and 1960s, is that its various constituents perceive its role differently. For instance, university administrators and members of the boards of trustees and regents generally believe that the campus paper is an arm of the institution that should reflect the members' values of society and institution. These administrators want the newspapers to report administrative decisions and policies accurately and fairly. Sometimes this means that the expectation is that the student newspaper will speak favorably about the university administration.²⁰² The student editors and reporters tended to view themselves as following in the honorable footsteps of the great journalistic crusaders and trust that reporting the news in such a spirit will not always find the trustees and administrators in the right.²⁰³

The students for whom the newspapers are published turned to the paper for a variety of reasons ranging from an interest in campus issues to current events. Likewise, both students and faculty often saw the paper as a bulletin board for events that lists routine but important meetings that relate to campus life. The faculty and staff of a college or university looked to the newspaper for news that might influence their current jobs, future employment, or working conditions. Faculty members in journalism departments often saw the newspaper as a tool for training students for their future careers in the field of

²⁰¹ Herman A. Estrin "What is a College Newspaper?" In *Freedom and Censorship of the College Press* Herman A. Estrin & Arthur M. Sanderson eds., (Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown Publishers, 1966) p.15.

²⁰² Julius Duscha & Thomas Fischer *The Campus Press: Freedom and Responsibility*. (Washington D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1973) p.11.

²⁰³ Julius Duscha & Thomas Fischer *The Campus Press: Freedom and Responsibility*. (Washington D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1973) p.11.

journalism. Critics of the university, both on and off campus believed that the newspaper was a source of information that could help them fuel their attacks on the institution.²⁰⁴

Differences and Similarities Between the General Press and the Campus Press:

Like the general press, the student paper serves a fairly well defined audience that includes students, faculty, staff and administration as well as the surrounding campus community. A general circulation paper has an established distribution area that usually encompasses a town or metropolitan area. However, some newspapers have a large national or regional audience. Although the audience of the campus press is not as diverse as the general press, it is far from homogeneous. In addition to students, the readers of the student newspapers might also include activists, university sports fans, and editors and reporters for general circulation newspapers. Both general circulation and campus newspapers depend on advertising for a significant portion of their revenue.²⁰⁵

However, a number of important differences also exist between campus and general circulation newspapers. The size and circulation of a campus newspaper will never be as large as a general circulation paper in a metropolitan area. Likewise, the student community differs from the general population. While general circulation papers receive the vast majority of their income from advertising, campus papers are financed by advertising and by funds from the college or university that they serve. Another important distinction is that students who are usually much less experienced than the professional journalists that work at a general circulation papers produce college and university newspapers.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ Julius Duscha & Thomas Fischer *The Campus Press: Freedom and Responsibility*. (Washington D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1973) p.12.

²⁰⁵ Julius Duscha & Thomas Fischer *The Campus Press: Freedom and Responsibility*. (Washington D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1973) p.12.

²⁰⁶ Julius Duscha & Thomas Fischer *The Campus Press: Freedom and Responsibility*. (Washington D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1973) p.13.

Further, the creation of a student newspaper differs from that of a general circulation paper in a variety of ways. The student newspaper differs from the general press because there are longer lapses between the writing and the printing of the paper. During the 1930s, the lapses could be up to 24 hours on a college daily and three to four days on some weekly papers. Another key difference was that students usually held a particular staff position for a year, a semester, or a term. No sooner did one staff become competent than its term ended and another staff took over.²⁰⁷

Because universities were, in effect, requiring every student to subscribe, they assumed some responsibility for the newspaper's quality. Universities could not force students to purchase daily an inaccurate or inadequate bulletin of essential campus announcements nor should they force students to purchase an advertising handbill or dodger. The editors, seeking financial support, agreed in effect to publish all official announcements in an accurate and timely fashion. They also agreed that there should be a larger amount of reading material than advertising. The students recognized this obligation and concluded that the advertising space should never occupy more than one third of the newspaper's total area.²⁰⁸

Funding the Campus Newspaper:

Financing of Student Publications:

During the 1950s and 1960s, some student newspapers were financially secure. For example, *The Cornell University Sun* showed a sizable profit each year. The student newspaper at DePauw was entirely self-supporting, even to owning its own building on campus.

²⁰⁷ Robert Andrew Schoonover *Working relations of faculty advisers to student staffs on collegiate newspapers*. (Washington D.C.: American University, 1962) p.11.

²⁰⁸ Burges Johnson "Cigarette Advertising and Censorship" *School and Society* 32, (December 31, 1932) pp. 856-856.

Students are charged with full responsibility for the financial and editorial operations of the paper and it receives no financial support from the school budget.

The financing of student publications presents a perpetual problem. Campus or university papers can be financed by subscription sales, by subsidy, or by advertising. In decades past it was believed that student newspapers should only require subsidies to get started. Eventually, papers need to be self-supporting. However, funding from subscriptions or student fees is seldom enough to fund the newspaper. Therefore, the question of advertising in student newspapers has always been an important one. Often, the business aspect of the newspaper that is necessary to make the publication financially sound runs against its ethical responsibilities to its audience.²⁰⁹

The most remunerative advertisements are normally those that encourage the use of products disapproved by college or university authority. For instance, the stand taken by the *Daily Orange* at Syracuse University in regard to cigarette advertising is particularly poignant. In the Syracuse situation, the faculty and the staff were willing to accept financial difficulty rather than accept advertising that was contrary to the university's principles. The *Daily Orange* was one of the first daily collegiate newspapers not to carry tobacco advertising.²¹⁰

The *Daily Orange* had greater freedom than the majority of undergraduate newspapers of the time. When it decided to reject tobacco advertising in 1932, the *Daily Orange* was thirty years old. In 1921 the student editors and managers of the newspaper found themselves in financial difficulty and appealed to the student body as a whole. In a mass meeting, the student body passed a resolution that every student should be compelled to subscribe to the paper. However, there was no authority behind their action and it was not enforced. A year

²⁰⁹ Ruth Strang *Group Activities in College and Secondary School* (New York: New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1941) p. 185.

²¹⁰ Burges Johnson "Cigarette Advertising and Censorship" *School and Society* 32, (December 31, 1932) pp. 856-856.

later the students appealed to the administration, which agreed to assume financial responsibility for the paper and allotted a student fee that paid for the newspaper.²¹¹

Syracuse University's attitude on tobacco advertising was a logical outcome. The tobacco industry, specifically the cigarette manufacturers, carried on a skillful and vigorous propaganda, which had certain definite characteristics in the eyes of the university administration. Its goal was to create an appetite instead of creating a demand. In addition, the advertisements demanded large spaces for pictorial display as well as letter-press.²¹²

Opening the pages of Syracuse University's *Daily Orange* to such tobacco displays would make it possible for the student advertising manager to fill the entire area allotted for advertising with cigarette ads. This would essentially eliminate the local merchants from advertising in the newspaper. If the paper were made larger to accommodate both local businesses and tobacco ads, it would be necessary to change the one-third allotment for advertising space.²¹³

In addition to the *Daily Orange*, Blair Academy, a private college in Blairstown, New Jersey also did not carry cigarette advertising. The Blair Academy *Breeze* did not accept any cigarette advertising because of a faculty rule prohibiting such advertising.²¹⁴

Because of the strong opposition to smoking on some university campuses, the campus newspaper's tobacco advertising "would be daily saturating the campus with skillfully prepared propaganda in direct opposition to the athletic and physical education departments' efforts to keep smoking on campus to a minimum." In addition, Syracuse

²¹¹ Burges Johnson "Cigarette Advertising and Censorship" *School and Society* 32, (December 31, 1932) pp. 856-856.

²¹² Burges Johnson "Cigarette Advertising and Censorship" *School and Society* 32, (December 31, 1932) pp. 856-856.

²¹³ Burges Johnson "Cigarette Advertising and Censorship" *School and Society* 32, (December 31, 1932) pp. 856-856.

²¹⁴ "Letter to R.J Reynolds on November 15, 1933." Bates: 50180-8113 www.tobaccodocuments.org [Retrieved on June 30, 2006].

University urged women not to smoke by telling them to “keep kissable” and meditate upon “nature in the raw.”²¹⁵ Representatives of the tobacco industry were offended by Syracuse University’s stand against tobacco telling them that they belonged with the “ichthyosaurus,” the “dodo” and the “great auk.”²¹⁶

University policy was not the only factor preventing cigarette advertising in college and university newspapers. Some cigarette manufacturers chose not to advertise in particular newspapers because of high inch rates. For instance, R.J. Reynolds did not advertise in the following newspapers during the 1930s because of high rates: the Loyola College *Greyhound*, the Millsaps College *Purple & White*, the Woodberry Forrest *Oracle*, the Lake Forest *Stentor*, the Upsala College *Gazette*, the Union College *Cardinal & Cream*, the Cumberland University *Collegian*, and the Randolph-Macon *Yellow Jacket*.²¹⁷

Advertising and Commercial Speech:

Although journalism is public business, it is still a private industry. Therefore, the newspaper industry had the rights and privileges under the law pursuant to conducting a private business as it applied from the 1920s-1960s. During this time period, the newspaper could refuse and accept advertising as it saw fit. And, this right to refuse advertising was tested in the courts. Under the law a newspaper retained the right to what it would and would not print. At the same time, the newspaper was legally protected as an entity of public value. The judicial logic behind this principle is as follows: if a newspaper were considered a

²¹⁵ Burges Johnson “Cigarette Advertising and Censorship” *School and Society* 32, (December 31, 1932) pp. 856-856.

²¹⁶ Burges Johnson “Cigarette Advertising and Censorship” *School and Society* 32, (December 31, 1932) pp. 856-856.

²¹⁷ “Letter to R.J Reynolds on November 15, 1933.” Bates: 50180-8113 www.tobaccodocuments.org [Retrieved on June 30, 2006].

“common carrier” and required to print every advertisement that it received it would be equally obligated to print all of the news that it received.²¹⁸

The courts agreed that college officials as well as student editors of publications in private colleges could reject any and all advertising at any time for any reason whatsoever. And, the publication was not obligated to provide a reason for rejecting the advertising. However, in public colleges, the courts would not allow college officials the authority to deny access to the advertising columns of college publications. But the Courts would uphold the right of student editors, who they said were not legally agents of the state, to reject advertising as they see fit. If the college official rejected the advertisement, it would be an impermissible state action. If the student editor rejected the advertising, it would be constitutionally protected.²¹⁹

Advertising, or commercial speech, is part of that class of expression that does not enjoy full protection of the First Amendment. However, in more recent years the courts have been expanding the scope of that protection.²²⁰ When college and student publications accepted advertising, they became responsible for libelous content of that advertising. However, since *New York Times v. Sullivan* (1964),²²¹ advertising that advocates ideas, expresses opinions, or is political in nature has enjoyed First Amendment protection. Only product and service advertising was subject to government regulations. And the regulations that apply to the commercial press also apply to the collegiate press.

According to a survey published by James Crimmins in 1968, of the student newspapers stating that they had any restrictions, 52 percent vested this power of decision

²¹⁸ James C. Crimmins *Successful Publishing on the Campus* (New York: New York: Newsweek Inc. 1968) p. 71.

²¹⁹ Louis Ingelhart. *Freedom for the College Student Press: Court Cases and Related Decisions Defining the Campus Fourth Estate Boundaries*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985) p. 173.

²²⁰ Louis Ingelhart. *Freedom for the College Student Press: Court Cases and Related Decisions Defining the Campus Fourth Estate Boundaries*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985) p. 169.

²²¹ *New York Times Company v. Sullivan*, 376 U.S. 254 (1964).

on the advertising manager. Almost 20 percent vested the power in a university representative, while the remaining 28 percent gave the responsibility to the editor or publications board. Regarding restrictions, 78 percent had restrictions against specific products. However, the restrictions were not spelled out. The restricted products were what one would expect them to be – 58 per cent had restrictions on liquor advertising, 46 percent had restrictions on tobacco advertising, 8 percent had restrictions on drugs, and 8 percent restricted political advertising. Even though the tobacco industry discontinued its cigarette advertising in 1963, only 46 percent of universities had formal restrictions against tobacco advertisements in 1968.²²²

Funding from National Advertising:

For decades, the college market in the United States has been a lucrative target for advertisers. Competition in the college market has been fierce. Lawsuits, confrontations, and squabbles have resulted from this intense competition.²²³

Until the late seventies, one company, National Educational Advertising Services (NEAS), sold all of the national advertising that appeared in college newspapers. NEAS was a subsidiary of *Reader's Digest*.²²⁴ However, in 1976 the Supreme Court ruled that NEAS held a monopolistic position and was in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.²²⁵ National Educational Advertising Services sold national advertising space in student newspapers on behalf of the campus papers. NEAS sold space in the newspapers to national advertisers, billed the advertisers or their advertising agencies, deducted a commission for itself, and

²²² James C. Crimmins *Successful Publishing on the Campus* (New York: New York: Newsweek Inc. 1968) p. 71.

²²³ Louis Ingelhart. *Freedom for the College Student Press: Court Cases and Related Decisions Defining the Campus Fourth Estate Boundaries*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985) p. 175.

²²⁴ James C. Crimmins *Successful Publishing on the Campus* (New York: New York: Newsweek Inc. 1968) p. 71.

²²⁵ CASS Student Advertising v. National Educational Advertising Services Inc. 374 F. Supp. 754 (United States District Court, N.D. Illinois E.D., 1976) reversed and remanded and rehearing denied (United States Court of Appeals, Seventh Circuit, 1975) cert. denied 96 S. Ct. 394 (United States Supreme Court, 1975) affirmed 407 F. Supp. 520 (United States District Court, N.D. Illinois E.D., 1976).

remitted the remainder to the newspaper.²²⁶ However, student newspapers did have the right to refuse advertising sold by NEAS.

By 1967 NEAS was selling more than \$3,000,000 worth of national advertising for college newspapers every year. A 1968 study by James Crimmins reported national advertising revenues in excess of \$250,000 or \$6,440 per paper. Daily newspapers received a larger portion of the national advertising but it represented a smaller percentage of their total incomes. For example, the average daily paper received \$30,000 from NEAS or 14% of its total revenue. The average weekly with advertising revenues of \$10,000 or less received more than 86 percent of its total advertising revenues from NEAS. The average newspaper received 24% of its advertising income from NEAS.²²⁷

National advertisers had a large say in the campuses they targeted. The bigger, better-known, and more prestigious institutions received the most national advertising. Among the papers that Crimmins studied, 80% of NEAS advertising went to schools that were among the top 201 in the nation as selected by the Associated College Press.²²⁸

The sale of advertising was necessary to the survival of the student newspaper because the college community was seldom, if ever, willing to subsidize the paper sufficiently so that advertising could be eliminated. In spite of the fact that campus newspapers were often under funded, next to intercollegiate athletics, the college paper was the largest financial undertaking on most campuses in 1962. However, unlike athletics, the college newspaper derives financial a large amount support from the campus community and a variety of advertisers. However, it is important to mention that not all of student advertising

²²⁶ Louis Ingelhart. *Freedom for the College Student Press: Court Cases and Related Decisions Defining the Campus Fourth Estate Boundaries*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985) p. 175.

²²⁷ James C. Crimmins *Successful Publishing on the Campus* (New York: New York: Newsweek Inc. 1968) p. 71.

²²⁸ James C. Crimmins *Successful Publishing on the Campus* (New York: New York: Newsweek Inc. 1968) p. 72.

revenue comes from national advertisers. Some local or regional advertisers also advertise in campus publications.²²⁹

However, the sale of advertising in campus newspapers during the 1950s and 1960s was often rather counterproductive. Sometimes the cost of the advertising that seemed to be borne by the advertisers was actually borne by the students. For instance, in some cases, the printing costs for student papers were paid by student fees. These fees would need to increase if additional pages were printed to accommodate larger advertisements or a greater number of advertisements. If a newspaper was mismanaged, the advertising revenue did not cover the cost of the additional pages. In addition, very little advertising that was found in student newspapers could be defended as socially productive. For instance, the growth of both cigarette and fashion advertising resulted in an increase in the size of the newspaper. This increase in size usually increased the cost of the production so that relatively little profit was earned from the advertising.²³⁰

The Importance of School-Newspaper Advertising:

An understanding of successful school-newspaper advertising comes in part from knowing its importance. Before the middle of the 1960s, the importance of student newspaper advertising could be considered in five ways (1) benefits to the advertiser, the sender of the message; (2) benefits to the consumer, the receiver of the message; (3) benefits to the publications that prints the advertisements; and (4) benefits to the student solicitor, who sells the advertisement.²³¹

²²⁹ Schoonover, Robert Andrew *Working relations of faculty advisers to student staffs on collegiate newspapers*. (Washington D.C.: American University, 1962) p.164.

²³⁰ Schoonover, Robert Andrew *Working relations of faculty advisers to student staffs on collegiate newspapers*. (Washington D.C.: American University, 1962) p.164.

²³¹ Ivan Livingston Jones, *An Analysis of the Educational Problems Peculiar to School-Newspaper Advertising* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington, 1961) p.8.

From the community merchant's perspective, there were six specific purposes of advertising. These goals were (1) to sell goods; (2) to create demands; (3) to introduce styles and customs; (4) to seek goodwill; (5) to keep the product or advertiser's name before the public; and (6) to introduce a new business or announce a change in location. If a given student-newspaper advertisement fulfilled one or more of these purposes, then the community merchant benefits.²³²

There could be many rewards for a school publication advertising program. With additional money from advertising revenue, a journalism program can expand. For example, special "extras" can be published, larger issues can be printed, or the school newspaper can be published more frequently. A more professional publication can be published because of the increase in the size or number of issues could provide more space or number of issues gives room for fuller coverage of school activities, which in turn can be a determining factor for better school spirit. In addition, students can gain valuable experience by selling advertising in addition to the usual editorial duties.²³³

Student Newspapers at The University of Tennessee:

The publication of a campus newspaper is one of the oldest traditions at the University of Tennessee. The first journalistic efforts of the University, then known as the East Tennessee University, were created and edited by the Senior Class of 1840-1841, and continued in the hands of the Senior Class until 1843. The contributors were never revealed as they signed their names with Greek letters.²³⁴ The history of university-sanctioned newspapers at the University of Tennessee begins with the semi-monthly publication of *The*

²³² Ivan Livingston Jones, *An Analysis of the Educational Problems Peculiar to School-Newspaper Advertising* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington, 1961) p.8.

²³³ Ivan Livingston Jones, *An Analysis of the Educational Problems Peculiar to School-Newspaper Advertising* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington, 1961) p.8.

²³⁴ *Orange and White*, November 17, 1944

University Times-Prospectus beginning on November 3, 1871. The first publication to take the name *Orange and White* was published on February 24, 1900 as a weekly publication and was later published semi-weekly. The *Orange and White* was published at the main campus in Knoxville and at the Memphis campus and was under the direction of the publications council starting in 1916.²³⁵ Unfortunately, very few records exist for the *Orange and White* because the majority of them were destroyed in a campus fire.²³⁶

Student publications played an important role in school spirit at The University of Tennessee. In the early 1920s, the students created a movement to obtain a fee, called a blanket tax, to cover admission to athletic events and to pay for publications. The staffs of the student publications, such as the *Orange and White*, actively supported the fee. Although the fee did not pass in 1922, interest in the fee continued until it was passed in 1927 by a 75% student majority vote.²³⁷ The first female editor-in-chief, Katherine Goddard, was elected during the 1920s; she assumed the position on February 1, 1923.²³⁸

On March 26, 1931, the paper first became a semi-weekly and it was printed for the first time on standard newsprint with seven columns to a page. The change enabled the use of an improved style of make-up and more feature stories were placed on the first page. The entire last page was dedicated to sports. Due to wartime restrictions, the paper reverted to a

²³⁵ James Reilly Montgomery "Threshold of News Days at the University of Tennessee 1919-1946" pp.100-309 University of Tennessee Archives January 16, 2007.

Nelle Bardin "History of The University of Tennessee Publications" *The University of Tennessee Magazine* (1920) pp. 419-433.

²³⁶ James Reilly Montgomery "Threshold of News Days at the University of Tennessee 1919-1946" p.124 University of Tennessee Archives January 16, 2007.

²³⁷ James Reilly Montgomery "Threshold of News Days at the University of Tennessee 1919-1946" p.304 University of Tennessee Archives January 16, 2007.

²³⁸ "Present-Day *Orange and White* Evolved From Senior Class Publication Of 1840." *The Orange and White*, October 13, 1944.

weekly in 1943. However, it regained its semiweekly status after the war.²³⁹ In addition, in 1940 the *Orange and White* changed its name from *Orange and White* to *The Orange and White*.²⁴⁰

Funding for the *Orange and White* was problematic, especially during the Depression when the University faced significant financial woes. The legislature reduced funds for the University in 1931. The trustees tried to compensate in part by increasing the maintenance fee from fifteen to twenty dollars. The same year, the trustees dropped the Student Activities Fee, which had been \$13.25 a quarter. This meant that the fees were actually slightly reduced. The Student Activities fee had provided a primary source of funding for the *Orange and White* newspaper.²⁴¹ The headline of the May 23, 1933 edition read, “Trustees to Kill Activities Fee: Athletics, Musical Groups, Publications Dealt a Severe Blow.” The financial difficulties that the newspaper faced became evident later that same year in a column entitled “*Orange and White* Goes A-Begging For Curtains” published on October 13, 1933. The column reads,

It is nothing new for the *Orange and White* to be accused of selling its journalistic soul. But for the first time it is true. The paper makes no bones about it. Boldly and openly it is willing to trade (1) column of publicity (the only coin it has) to the Home Economics Club for (1) set of window curtains for the editor’s office.

The paper’s financial woes continued into the 1940s. *The Orange and White* sponsored a subscription contest. Campus fraternities and sororities competed to obtain paid subscriptions to support the paper. A trophy and recognition in the paper were to be awarded to the winner.²⁴²

In addition to its financial woes, the paper also addressed the growing popularity of cigarette smoking. On Friday March 1, 1935, the *Orange and White* published an editorial

²³⁹ “Present-Day *Orange and White* Evolved From Senior Class Publication Of 1840.” *The Orange and White*, October 13, 1944.

²⁴⁰ The newspaper will be referred to as *The Orange and White* unless the reference refers to the paper pre-1940.

²⁴¹ James Reilly Montgomery “Threshold of News Days at the University of Tennessee 1919-1946” pp. 100 University of Tennessee Archives January 16, 2007.

²⁴² “Present-Day *Orange and White* Evolved From Senior Class Publication Of 1840.” *Orange and White*, October 13, 1944.

entitled, "Cigarettes, Candy, Chewing Gum!" The column laments students' tendency to litter on campus. The column reads,

Anyone interested in determining the favorite brand of cigarettes of UT students need not employ a blindfold method of selection. All that he would need do would be count the number of each brand, which constantly litter the entrances to Ayres Hall. He need not limit himself to this, but could count the empty packages also.

A new student newspaper, *The Daily Beacon*, was established at the University of Tennessee in 1967 and was published four times per week. Soon afterward, the paper began publishing issues five times a week and continues to do so publishing about 180 issues per academic year.²⁴³

Tobacco Experiment Stations at Universities in the Southeast:

By the 1950s, the tobacco industry had collaborated with many universities in the South to learn how to better cultivate tobacco. The primary experiment stations were located at universities in North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky.²⁴⁴

During the spring of 1928, Clyde B. Austin, the founder of the Austin Tobacco Company, asked the University of Tennessee to consider establishing a tobacco research facility in Greeneville, Tennessee. Austin, along with a number of other prominent tobacco men, believed that the state needed a tobacco research station and that the location should be in the state's leading burley tobacco growing region.²⁴⁵

The idea took shape during the state legislature's 1930-1931 session. A bill was passed that granted \$25,000.00 for the purchase of land on which a tobacco research station

²⁴³ James Reilly Montgomery "Threshold of News Days at the University of Tennessee 1919-1946" pp.100-309 University of Tennessee Archives January 16, 2007.

Nelle Bardin "History of The University of Tennessee Publications" *The University of Tennessee Magazine* (1920) pp. 419-433.

²⁴⁴ C. M. Sprinkle; Agricultural Research. "Annual Research Report. Agricultural Research 1955 (550000)." 26 Jan 1956. Bates: 504166682-504166686. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/rjr/504166682-6686.html>

²⁴⁵ Charles L. Click *A History of the University of Tennessee Experiment Station* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee) 1990, pp. 1-20.

would be established.²⁴⁶ This facility would be a cooperative effort between The University of Tennessee and the United States Department of Agriculture's office of Tobacco and Plant Nutrition. The Tobacco Experiment Station opened in the spring of 1932.²⁴⁷

During the first decade of the Tobacco Experiment Station's existence, the Station's primary goals related to the establishment of the facility. Although experimental studies had been conducted during this period, no significant breakthroughs were reported. During the war years, the station lost much of its manpower. The work at the station came almost to a standstill and was in desperate need of direction.²⁴⁸ However, the changes brought about by World War II that necessitated the production of more tobacco and the technology that would make this possible would set the stage for the station's work over the next twenty-five years. According to Charles Click, the work conducted at the station during these years was the most influential in the station's history. Advances in plant breeding and agronomics resulted in a number of major discoveries that have been beneficial to the farmer.²⁴⁹

After the 1964 U.S. Surgeon General's Report, tobacco production in the United States changed drastically. The change from unfiltered cigarettes to the filtered low-tar version enabled cigarette manufacturers to use a lower quality tobacco in their product.²⁵⁰ This trend also resulted in an increased use of foreign tobaccos imported from Africa, Asia

²⁴⁶ Charles L. Click *A History of the University of Tennessee Experiment Station* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee) 1990, pp. 21-42.

²⁴⁷ Charles L. Click *A History of the University of Tennessee Experiment Station* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee) 1990, pp. 21-42.

²⁴⁸ Charles L. Click *A History of the University of Tennessee Experiment Station* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee, 1990) pp. 43-73.

²⁴⁹ Charles L. Click *A History of the University of Tennessee Experiment Station* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee, 1990) pp. 43-73.

²⁵⁰ Charles L. Click *A History of the University of Tennessee Experiment Station* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee, 1990) pp. 43-73.

and Latin America. Therefore, the tobacco station changed its focus from creating new varieties and better quality tobacco to cultivating more tobacco at a reduced cost.²⁵¹

In Click's opinion, the contributions made by the University of Tennessee Tobacco Experiment Station to the American tobacco industry are immeasurable.²⁵² The role played by the station in increasing American tobacco production has placed tobacco near the top of the list of U.S. agricultural exports. The economic benefit derived from the increased production has placed tobacco near the top of the list of U.S. agricultural exports. From the early advances made against black root rot disease to the high yield varieties that are popular today, the station's tobacco breeding program has had a large influence on the tobacco industry in the United States.²⁵³

Conclusion:

Cigarette and tobacco promotion have been an important part of the collegiate culture at colleges and universities across the nation. However, financial woes have also been an important part of the history of student publications. Because of the desperate need for funding, the campus newspaper's student-centered goal was compromised by its advertising. Unfortunately, the funding from the tobacco companies did little to help the newspaper's financial woes.

²⁵¹ Charles L. Click *A History of the University of Tennessee Experiment Station* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee, 1990) pp. 43-73.

²⁵² Charles L. Click *A History of the University of Tennessee Experiment Station* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee, 1990) pp. 74-76.

²⁵³ Charles L. Click *A History of the University of Tennessee Experiment Station* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee, 1990) pp. 74-76.

Chapter Four: The FTC's Role in Ending Tobacco Advertising in Student Newspapers on College and University Campuses

During the 1950s and 1960s, student newspapers at colleges and universities were major vehicles for cigarette advertising and promotion. Student newspapers were attractive to the tobacco industry because they were a relatively inexpensive medium that targeted young adults who were largely unaware of the risks associated with cigarette smoking. Cigarette companies were important advertisers on campus and their advertising consumed much of the advertising space in student newspapers. However, as scientific and medical reports began to surface that linked cigarette smoking with cancer, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) began to take action against the tobacco industry. And, ultimately, these actions resulted in the removal of cigarette advertising from student publications. This chapter traces the FTC's involvement in tobacco advertising regulation during the 1950s and 1960s that resulted in the end of tobacco advertising in student newspapers.

Government agencies offered young people little protection from cigarette advertisers during the 1950s and early 1960s. During this time period numerous college newspapers and some high school newspapers carried numerous cigarette advertisements. In fact, nearly 2,000 college publications, mainly newspapers, received over 40 percent of their advertising revenue from the tobacco industry.²⁵⁴ In this litigious age, it is difficult to imagine cigarette advertisements blatantly targeting youth and young adults yet going relatively unnoticed.

It would be assumed that the FTC would protect college students from unscrupulous tobacco advertisers who were blatantly trying to persuade a new generation to become addicted to tobacco. However, during the 1950s and early 1960s the FTC was

²⁵⁴ Stanley G. Whitehead & Goodman, David A. "A Saga of Cigarette Ads: Free cigarettes and tobacco advertising are fading from the college scene." *America*, (October 5, 1963) p.387.

relatively powerless against the powerful Tobacco Industry. Until the eve of the Surgeon General's Report in 1964, the FTC had little success regulating cigarette advertising.

College Newspapers and Cigarette Advertising:

College newspapers and tobacco shared a relationship that spanned over 40 years and five decades. Although most college student newspapers accepted advertising dollars from the tobacco industry without any controversy, some colleges did take action and pull the cigarette advertisements of their own accord. For instance, *Main Events*, the campus newspaper at City College in New York City and *Maroon*, the campus newspaper at University of Chicago, both dropped cigarette advertisements before the Tobacco Institute, the public relations arm of the tobacco industry, finally pulled the advertising because of pressure from the FTC in 1963. However, dropping cigarette advertising from student newspapers was not a simple matter. It involved contracts, possibly the loss of the school paper, and even lawsuits. On October 29, 1952 *Main Events* announced that it planned to drop all cigarette advertising. Part of an editorial that underlined the issue stated:

We feel that we are condoning cigarette smoking by allowing placement of advertising space at a time when it was impossible to overlook the facts of cigarette surveys.²⁵⁵

Three issues later the newspaper was out of money, it stated that it wished,

to express its deep regrets that the financial solvency of this newspaper – and apparently many other school papers across the country – depends, to such a large extent, upon a product which, according to the evidence, contributes so largely to the death of thousands each year.

Because the issue at stake here is not the publication life of a single newspaper, but whether or not the collegiate press must inevitably fold when outside advertising (primarily cigarette) is the basic source of its financial survival.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁵ Whitehead, Stanley G. & Goodman, David A. "A Saga of Cigarette Ads: Free cigarettes and tobacco advertising are fading from the college scene." *America*, (October 5, 1963) p.387.

²⁵⁶ Whitehead, Stanley G. & Goodman, David A. "A Saga of Cigarette Ads: Free cigarettes and tobacco advertising are fading from the college scene." *America*, (October 5, 1963) p.388.

The Nation printed an editorial on January 26, 1963 entitled “Collegians and the Weed:”

Apparently *Main Events* is the first college newspaper to discontinue cigarette advertising on the initiative of the staff... The vaunted editorial independence of the great American press is here being tested, and the fact that the test is on a small and local scale does not alter the principle involved.²⁵⁷

Soon after *The Nation* article, the Catholic weekly, *America*, and the *Medical Tribune*, a national weekly for physicians, devoted space to the story. The public response was immediate – especially from the physicians. The City College school administrators were given the necessary funds to continue their campus paper.²⁵⁸

Earle Ubell, the New York *Herald Tribune*’s science editor, discussed the issue in a letter to the City College students. The majority of the eight-page issue discussed the controversy. More than 500 of the 6,000 copies that were run were sent to student college newspaper editors with the front-page comment:

We have no wish to point out individuals and tell them not to smoke; what you do is your own business. But especially for the young people who each semester enter the colleges of the nation...freshmen and seniors alike, whose understanding of this complex story is limited or made lopsided by the continual barrage of advertising through radio-TV, newspaper and magazine, and their own college press, we urge responsible editors of the country to help offset the potentially dangerous effects of smoking by using their good offices to discuss the issue for the benefit of all students.²⁵⁹

These comments were issued April 29, 1963 – two months before the Tobacco Institute’s recommendations that cigarette advertising be dropped from all college publications.

On the same day at the University of Chicago, the American Cancer Society’s Illinois division in conjunction with *Coccyx*, the University of Chicago group organized to eliminate cigarette advertising from the college daily, held a conference attended by editors and

²⁵⁷ Whitehead, Stanley G. & Goodman, David A. “A Saga of Cigarette Ads: Free cigarettes and tobacco advertising are fading from the college scene.” *America*, (October 5, 1963) p.388.

²⁵⁸ Whitehead, Stanley G. & Goodman, David A. “A Saga of Cigarette Ads: Free cigarettes and tobacco advertising are fading from the college scene.” *America*, (October 5, 1963) p.388.

²⁵⁹ Whitehead, Stanley G. & Goodman, David A. “A Saga of Cigarette Ads: Free cigarettes and tobacco advertising are fading from the college scene.” *America*, (October 5, 1963) p.388.

editorial assistants from 18 colleges in the metropolitan area. The purpose of the conference was to work to persuade editors to discontinue cigarette advertising and to enlist them in a drive to write anticigarette material. The presenters at the conference included a surgeon, the editor of the campus newspaper at the University of Chicago, and an advertising executive. The conference presented evidence on smoking and urged editors, if they were convinced that smoking and lung cancer were causally related, to refuse to renew their cigarette advertising contracts for the 1963-1964 academic year. Or, they might publish anticigarette advertisements created by *Coccyx*, the first series of which was entitled “On Campus Cancer” as a parody of “On Campus,” a column by popular humorist Max Shulman that was sponsored by Phillip Morris and Marlboro cigarettes.²⁶⁰

However, not everyone on campus was pleased with the decision to pull the advertising from college newspapers. For instance, in 1963 the advertising manager of *Maroon* defended cigarette advertising by stating:

Cigarette advertisements are highly lucrative and, therefore, highly desirable. Esthetically speaking, cigarette advertisements are generally praiseworthy for their art and good taste.²⁶¹

Even into the 1980s, twenty years after the advertising was removed, many college newspapers worked to convince the tobacco industry to advertise in college newspapers. For instance, in a letter dated October 20, 1981 from Ann Shank-Volk, the president of College Newspaper Business Advertising Managers Incorporated (CNBAM), to the Tobacco Institute, the members of CNBAM ask the Tobacco Institute to reconsider their voluntary ban on college newspaper advertising. The letter states,

We, the members of College Newspaper Business and Advertising Managers

²⁶⁰ Whitehead, Stanley G. & Goodman, David A. “A Saga of Cigarette Ads: Free cigarettes and tobacco advertising are fading from the college scene.” *America*, (October 5, 1963) p.389.

²⁶¹ Whitehead, Stanley G. & Goodman, David A. “A Saga of Cigarette Ads: Free cigarettes and tobacco advertising are fading from the college scene.” *America*, (October 5, 1963) p.389.

Inc. (CNBAM), request that the voluntary ban on advertising in college newspapers be rescinded by the Tobacco Institute. CNBAM is a national organization of over fifty major college newspapers. The college market itself is a lucrative one, consisting of 12,000,000 full and part-time students. 79% of these students read their college newspaper on a regular basis. CNBAM believes that by advertising in college newspapers, your industry would be making an economic, efficient media purchase aimed at the youth market, which is consistently supported the tobacco industry.²⁶²

In spite of CNBAM's efforts to regain tobacco advertising, the Tobacco Institute did not renew its college newspaper contract.

Tobacco Litigation and the Formation of the Tobacco Institute:

The first lawsuit involving three of the six major cigarette companies claiming that cigarette smoking caused lung cancer was filed in March 1954. All six manufacturers were involved in litigation based on similar claims. The primary legal issues that the industry faced centered around advertising, antitrust issues and health concerns. These concerns resulted in the creation of various tobacco related organizations that represented the interests of tobacco manufacturers. These organizations managed the industry's legal, research, and communications issues.

For the tobacco industry, the key defense strategy in the smoking and health litigation has been to try the plaintiff. On the other hand, the plaintiff's strategy is to try the corporate defendants. During the tobacco litigation of the 1950s and 1960s, the plaintiffs essentially asserted that the defendants have conspired to propagate "the deadly delusion of an 'open question' concerning the issue of smoking and health."²⁶³ For instance, one complaint alleged that:

²⁶² College Newspaper Business & Advert; Shankvolk, A. [No title]. 20 Oct 1981. Bates: 03019541-03019542. <<http://tobaccodocuments.org/lor/03019541-9542.html>> (Retrieved 1 September 2006)

²⁶³ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715. p.7. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

The defendants, individually and as members of the tobacco industry, conspired to misrepresent and through their concerted action, misrepresented to the users of cigarettes, and failed to warn users of cigarettes of the dependency induced by cigarette use and the adverse consequences of cigarette use.²⁶⁴

The primary allegations against the industry assert that the industry combined to deprive the public of certain scientific data and that it used advertising to help persuade the public that the cigarette habit was safe.²⁶⁵

However, the tobacco industry itself had profited from public health concerns for years, and had built business around consumer health concerns. Most cigarette makers had, at some time, employed advertising campaigns that suggested health benefits offered by their particular brand, such as "smoother on the throat," "Not a cough in the carload," "More Doctors smoke Camel," among others. In the early 1950s cigarette producers introduced more filtered cigarette brands to ease consumer fears. For instance, Pall Mall advertised that the unfiltered, yet longer, Pall Mall cigarette successfully filtered the smoke through the tobacco to help "Guard against throat scratch." As the industry capitalized on health fears, they simultaneously worked to disprove the claims that smoking caused serious illness.²⁶⁶

Although the tobacco industry had successfully dealt with controversy in the past, it seemed that more significant action was now in order. A December 14, 1953 meeting of the cigarette industry tobacco executives resulted in a call to develop a "pro-cigarette" public relations entity. The industry felt that the most effective way to face this growing problem

²⁶⁴ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715.

p.7. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

²⁶⁵ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715.

p.7. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

²⁶⁶ "The Tobacco Institute - Roots in the Tobacco Industry Research Committee" no date
http://roswell.tobaccodocuments.org/about_TI.htm (Retrieved 26 August 2006).

was to employ public relations counsel. On December 15, 1954 the tobacco industry hired Hill & Knowlton, a New York-based public relations agency, to create the trade association. Within the month, Hill & Knowlton and the industry collaborated to provide public relations for the industry and, simultaneously, fund research to study the damaging claims being made against its product. The Tobacco Industry Research Committee (TIRC) was officially formed in January 1954.²⁶⁷

Providing counter arguments against the mounting evidence against the tobacco industry became a primary function of the TIRC. The 1952 *Reader's Digest* article entitled "Cancer by the Carton," the studies by Drs. Wynder, Graham and Croninger that successfully induced cancer by painting cigarette tar on the skin of laboratory mice and the corresponding British study by Richard Doll, forced the tobacco industry to acknowledge the "major scientific and public relations problem" it was facing. Therefore, the industry could no longer ignore the mounting evidence that linked cigarette smoking with cancer and other diseases.²⁶⁸

In January of 1954 the tobacco industry announced its "Open Question" position in "A Frank Statement to Cigarette Smokers." The four primary elements of this position as it evolved in the 1950s were:

1. It has not been scientifically established that smoking is a cause of disease, particularly lung cancer.
2. The solution lies in more research to which the industry is committed.
3. Scientists have been unable to establish any ingredient as found in cigarette smoke, which has produced lung cancer in animals or human beings.
4. The industry believes that cigarettes are not injurious to health.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁷ "The Tobacco Institute - Roots in the Tobacco Industry Research Committee" no date http://roswell.tobaccodocuments.org/about_TI.htm (Retrieved 26 August 2006).

²⁶⁸ "Overview". 11 Apr 1988. Bates: 2024972574-2024972598. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/pm/2024972574-2598.html> (Retrieved 26 August 2006)

²⁶⁹ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715.

In spite of the fact that the tobacco industry claimed in 1954 that the TIRC was formed with the function of sponsoring independent research into smoking and health issues and to resolve the “Open Question” regarding tobacco and health, the actual function of the TIRC was, as SAB (Scientific Advisory Board) Chair, Dr. Clarence Cook stated in 1954, “[T]o build a foundation of research sufficiently strong to arrest continuing or future attacks” on the tobacco industry.²⁷⁰ Furthermore, one of the TIRC’s major activities from 1954-1958 and thereafter was to serve as the public relations vehicle for the tobacco industry in interviews, speeches, and testimony before Congress, the FTC, and in court.²⁷¹

In 1955, the FTC issued guidelines to prevent cigarette advertisements from making direct or indirect health related claims in their advertising. One effect of this legislation was to prevent the tobacco industry from making any claims that product improvements, such as filtration, had any beneficial health effects. Then, in 1959 the FTC enacted a rule that prevented companies from mentioning tar or nicotine levels in their cigarettes because it could be referred to as a health claim.²⁷²

The tobacco industry created the Tobacco Institute (TI) in 1958 to replace the TIRC’s public relations and legal functions and the Council for Tobacco Research (CTR) to continue the TIRC research functions. The Tobacco Institute’s primary objective was to publicize “the industry’s position on the smoking and health issue, representing the industry’s

p.9. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

²⁷⁰ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715.

p.18. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

²⁷¹ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715.

p.18. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

²⁷² "Overview". 11 Apr 1988. Bates: 2024972574-2024972598.

<http://tobaccodocuments.org/pm/2024972574-2598.html> (Retrieved 26 August 2006)

position to the Congress and the state legislatures and generally stating the industry's position to the public on issues ranging from smoking and health to taxation and all legislation affecting the industry."²⁷³ Led by attorney-based committees (the Committee of Counsel) and Covington and Burling (TI counsel), the Tobacco Institute was comprised of the tobacco lobby, legislative, public relations, state affairs, and federal affairs branch of the tobacco industry.

The Tobacco Industry, Federal Regulations and the FTC:

History of Tobacco Advertising:

During the period 1913-1953, cigarette consumption in the United States boomed. Many believe that this increase in consumption was the direct and intended result of the tobacco industry's advertising and marketing efforts. Throughout this time period, few legal or moral restraints were placed on cigarette promotion. Even before print advertising was common, picture cards were included in every cigarette pack. To encourage the smoker to purchase more cigarettes, the cards would be printed as part of a series. A series might include pictures of celebrities, athletes, scantily clad women, and of businessmen who made the transition from rags to riches.²⁷⁴

When print media advertisements gained popularity in the 1930s and 1940s, the themes of glamour and safety became widely circulated. Virtually every major movie star and professional athlete promoted a brand of cigarettes. Smoking was also very prevalent in the movies. These promotional techniques were targeted at the youth and young adult audience whose desire to emulate celebrities would lead them to start smoking. As part of their goal

²⁷³ "The Tobacco Institute - Roots in the Tobacco Industry Research Committee" no date http://roswell.tobaccodocuments.org/about_TI.htm (Retrieved 26 August 2006).

²⁷⁴ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715. p.268. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

of increasing the market, the tobacco industry also sought to target women and soldiers.²⁷⁵

However, for all of the “glamour” of cigarette smoking, market research uncovered that smokers did experience some unpleasant physical side effects related to smoking. The most notable side effects of smoking were coughing and a scratchy throat. For instance, a brand history of Pall Mall indicates that in 1948 product research found that “a large number of smokers suffered from throat irritation in various degrees. Consequently, the copy line that Pall Mall “filters the smoke” was changed to “filters the smoke on the way to your throat.” The addition of “on the way to your throat” proved to be an even more effective copy line. Likewise, Chesterfields were advertised as not adversely affecting the “nose, throat, and accessory organs,” Phillip Morris contained “DiGel” to remove irritants, Camel invited smokers to a 30-day test of the effect of Camels on their “T-Zone,” Lucky Strike used UV-rays and toasting to remove harsh irritants, and Kools went further by promoting their menthol as being good for a cold. However, R.J. Reynolds went the furthest by stating that Camels aided in digestion, gave students a lift and additional energy, contained 28% less nicotine, and did not affect an athlete’s wind.²⁷⁶ The majority of these offenses were found in both student publications and general circulation periodicals.

Although information dating back to the 1930s was adequate to trigger the industry’s duty to warn its consumers about the possible dangers of tobacco use, or at least put the tobacco industry on notice, evidence linking cigarette smoking and cancer was established

²⁷⁵ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715. p.269.

<http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

²⁷⁶ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715. p.270.

<http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

during the early 1950s. In addition to failing to warn the public in the face of increasing scientific evidence, the industry also resisted a number of warning proposals. Therefore, the tobacco industry had several documented opportunities to adopt a voluntary warning label before the government mandated warning labels.²⁷⁷

The Case Against Tobacco:

The case against the tobacco industry was threefold. First, as a part of the general corporate “conspiracy/misconduct” case, the public statements being released to the public through advertising with the internal state of awareness of the strength and validity of the connection that was established between smoking and various diseases. For instance, even as the Arthur D. Little Company was replicating, albeit with diminished results, the mouse-painting studies that had previously demonstrated that cigarettes contained carcinogens, Liggett was promoting its L&M filter as “Just What the Doctor Ordered.” While the research should have caused concern about the product, the advertising was clearly created to reassure the public about the safety of the product.²⁷⁸

Second, one could argue that the tobacco industry’s marketing efforts were irresponsible by stating that the promotional design was created and implemented with the single-minded goal of increasing the cigarette market. Advertising is viewed as the leading factor in smoking initiation with a particular emphasis on youth, young adults, and women, and in smoking continuance in the face of growing public knowledge of increased health

²⁷⁷ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715. p.254. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

²⁷⁸ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715. p.264. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

risks. For instance, the two themes of safety and glamour appeared repeatedly from 1913-1964, with a special emphasis on safety throughout filter cigarette's introductory era from 1953-1955 and the "tar derby" from 1958-1960. During this time period, celebrity endorsements saturated the advertising media. A powerful component of this argument is the FTC's finding, that was held up on appeal, that many of these advertisements were deceptive and misleading.²⁷⁹

The death-knell of the use of celebrity endorsements came with the Cigarette Advertising Code. Additional regulations also damaged the industry. For instance, the inclusion of warning labels on cigarette packs and, later, in cigarette advertising encouraged the industry's advertising to become more subtle. However, the themes of glamour and safety persisted nonetheless. Glamour was no longer personified in recognizable celebrities but in the anonymous happy, healthy individuals depicted in the advertisements. Claims of safety were cleverly implied in advertisements for "safer" cigarettes that were low tar, low gas, had charcoal filters, or all natural. The intent and effect of both was the same: to deviate from the legally required warning label and reassure smokers in their decision to start and continue smoking.²⁸⁰

FTC and Government Regulation:

The FTC flirted with cigarette advertising regulations since the 1930s, going after

²⁷⁹ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715. p.265.
<http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

²⁸⁰ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715. p. 265.
<http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

manufacturers who made unproven health claims about their products.²⁸¹ However, the 1950s and early 1960s are perhaps the most important era in cigarette regulation. Public health concerns drove cigarette manufacturers to compete in rival advertising campaigns promoting their filters (The "Tar Wars" or "Tar Derby"). In the early 1950s, only 2% of cigarettes had filter tips. However, by 1960, 50% of cigarettes were filter tips. The reason this drastic change in cigarette marketing was the publication of the first major study that definitively linked smoking to lung cancer. Mortin Levin's epidemiological survey of Buffalo lung cancer patients between 1938 and 1950 appeared in *The Journal of the American Medical Association*. His controversial and shocking finding: smokers were statistically twice as likely to develop lung cancer as non-smokers. Because of the scientific research that was beginning to connect smoking with cancer, FTC started to complain that cigarette advertisements that touted the physical benefits of smoking were deceptive in 1950.²⁸² However, the ultimate finding of the FTC's 1950 R.J. Reynolds decision was that cigarettes were not "appreciably harmful" to healthy smokers.²⁸³

An article in *U.S. News & World Report* stated the FTC's position on cigarettes and cigarette advertising very clearly. The article stated the FTC's position that,

For smokers, one cigarette is about like another. Cigarettes do not sooth the throat, help digestion, or relieve fatigue according to the findings of the Federal Trade Commission. All cigarettes contain some poison and one brand is no less irritating than any other brand. Cigarette smoking is not good for the individual.²⁸⁴

The Commission reached these conclusions after an investigation of tobacco industry advertising claims. The findings are based on laboratory tests conducted by the Food and

²⁸¹ Mark Parascandola "Public Health Then and Now: Cigarettes and the US Public Health Service in the 1950s" *American Journal of Public Health*, 91(2) February 2001 pp. 196-205.

²⁸² Gene Borio "Tobacco Timeline" *Tobacco.org* 2003
<http://www.tobacco.org/resources/history/Tobacco_History20-2.html>

²⁸³ Calfee, John E. "The Ghost of Cigarette Advertising Regulation Past" *Regulation*, 1997 Volume 20(3): <<http://www.cato.org/pubs/regulation/reg20n3d.html>> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

²⁸⁴ "What Cigarette Smokers Should Know" *U.S. News & World Report*. (April 14, 1950) p. 20.

Drug Association and testimonies made by medical professionals.²⁸⁵

In proceedings culminating in 1950 with cease and desist orders against every major tobacco company, the FTC found virtually all cigarette advertisements had been false, misleading, and deceptive.²⁸⁶ For instance, in the proceedings against R.J. Reynolds, the FTC found that many of the celebrity endorsements were deceptive because either the celebrities did not smoke or they did not smoke Camels exclusively.²⁸⁷ The Chesterfield “Nose, Throat, and Accessory Organs Not Adversely Affected by Smoking Chesterfields” campaign was also the subject of an FTC investigation that resulted in a cease and desist order entered against Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company.²⁸⁸

A statement in an April 5, 1950 press release issued by the FTC explains the Commission’s response to claims that some cigarettes contain fewer irritating substances than others. The FTC’s release of the cease and desist order against Camel and Old Gold reads,

In any event, it is declared that smoke is an “irritant” – containing as it does the substances carbon dioxide, carbon monoxide, nicotine, ammonia, and various aldehydes, including formaldehyde, tars, and formic acid. The Commission found that the smoke from all the leading brands of cigarettes contains all the leading brands of cigarettes contains all of these irritating substances “in essentially the same quantities and degree.” And, “being an irritant,” the Commission pointed out, “the smoke will irritate disordered throats,” and “excessive smoking” of any brand will irritate throats even in normal healthy condition.²⁸⁹

Regarding R.J. Reynolds’ use of celebrity appeals in Camel advertisements, the release said,

²⁸⁵ “What Cigarette Smokers Should Know” *U.S. News & World Report*. (April 14, 1950) p. 20-21.

²⁸⁶ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. “Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel”. No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715.

p.271. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

²⁸⁷ *R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.*, 46 F.T.C. 706 (1950). modified, 192 F. 2d 535 (7th Cir. 1951), order modified, 48 F.T.C. 682 (1952).

²⁸⁸ 55 F.T.C. 354 (1958) (Bruff Depo. Exh. 7)

²⁸⁹ FTC Office of Information, Orders 4795 and 4922, (April 5, 1950). Bates Number: 980300567/0572 p. 1. <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/hgo15f00>>

The Reynolds Company is further forbidden to represent that Camels differ in any of those respects from other leading brands of cigarettes, or to use any testimonials which contain any of the prohibited representations or which are not “factually true in all respects.”²⁹⁰

The FTC decision in the Chesterfield case stated that the advertisement reported the results of a survey of 30 smokers who smoked Chesterfield cigarettes for a six-month period. During this time period, a physician examined the research participants every two months. At the end of the six months, the smokers were not adversely affected by smoking Chesterfields. However, the FTC noted that the study extended beyond the initial six months for an additional eighteen-month period. During this latter period, four of the 30 participants displayed coughing spells that were attributed to smoking.²⁹¹

In 1951, American Tobacco Company’s Lucky Strike Cigarettes received a cease and desist order from the FTC because it was in violation of the Federal Trade Commission’s previous rulings and the Federal Trade Commission Act. American Tobacco Company was ordered to cease and desist from any advertising that:

- 1.) Lucky Strike cigarettes or the smoke therefrom contains less acid than do the cigarettes or the smoke therefrom any of the leading brands of cigarettes.
- 2.) That Lucky Strike cigarettes or the smoke therefrom is less irritating to the throat than the cigarettes or the smoke therefrom of any of the other leading brands of cigarettes.
- 3.) That Lucky Strike cigarettes or the smoke therefrom contains less nicotine than do the cigarettes or the smoke therefrom of any of the four other leading brands of cigarettes.²⁹²

The following year, R.J. Reynolds received a modified order to cease and desist from the FTC. On January 17, 1952, the FTC mandated that Camel cigarettes stop the implying

²⁹⁰ FTC Office of Information, Orders 4795 and 4922, (April 5, 1950). Bates Number: 980300567/0572 p. 3. <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/hgo15f00>>

²⁹¹ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715.

p.274. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

²⁹² F.T.C. “Order To Cease And Desist” (June 20, 1951) Bates Number: 980297792/7793 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/acn85f00>>

the following in its advertising:

- 1.) That the smoking of such cigarettes encourages the flow of digestive fluids or increases the alkalinity of the digestive tract or that it aids digestion in any respect.
- 2.) That the smoking of cigarettes relieves fatigue or that it creates, renews, gives or releases body energy.
- 3.) That the smoking of such cigarettes does not affect or impair the “wind” or the physical condition of the athletes.
- 4.) That such cigarettes or the smoke therefrom will never harm or irritate the throat, nor leave an aftertaste.
- 5.) That the smoke from such cigarettes is soothing, restful, or comforting to the nerves, or that it protects against nerve strain.
- 6.) That Camel cigarettes differ in any of the foregoing respects from the other leading brands of cigarettes on the market.
- 7.) That Camel cigarettes or the smoke therefrom contains less nicotine than do the cigarettes or the smoke therefrom contains less nicotine than do the cigarettes or the smoke therefrom of any of the four other largest selling brands of cigarettes.²⁹³

Later that same year, the FTC was looking into Phillip Morris’ claim that their cigarettes are less irritating.²⁹⁴ On February 5, 1952 the FTC found the following aspects of the Phillip Morris to be false and deceptive and would be banned by Examiner Earl J. Kolb’s order.

That by the use of a... hygroscopic agent as a moistener, Phillip Morris cigarettes would be rendered nonirritating or less irritating than those brands in which other hygroscopic agents are employed.²⁹⁵

The FTC also prohibited Phillip Morris from stating:

That Phillip Morris cigarettes cause no irritation to the upper respiratory tract and are less irritating to that area than other leading brands.
That they have any value in alleviating or removing irritation of the nose or throat due to smoking.
That they may be smoked as much and as often as one likes without irritation

²⁹³ F.T.C. “Modified Order to Cease and Desist” (January 17, 1952) Bates Number: 980300590/059 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/ogo15f00>>

²⁹⁴ Daniel-DC, FTC “United States Of America Before Federal Trade Commission, Commissioners James M. Mead, Lowell B. Mason, John Carson, Stephen J. Spingarn, Albert A. Carretta, In The Matter Of Philip Morris & Company, Docket No. 4794, Decision Of The Commission And Order To File Report Of Compliance” (December 29, 1952) Bates Number: 980299310/9329 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/tqo15f00>> (Retrieved 30 August 2006).

²⁹⁵ F.T.C. “Hearing Examiner’s Initial Decision” (February 5, 1952) Bates Number: 980299330/9331 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/uqo15f00>>

to the throat.

That they give protection from smokers coughs, the effects of inhaling or from throat irritation due to inhaling.

That the leading brands are more irritating than Phillip Morris or that irritation caused by smoking lasts longer when such other brands are used.

That the smoke from Phillip Morris cigarettes will not affect the breath or leave an aftertaste.²⁹⁶

In the December 1, 1952 case, *Federal Trade Commission v. Liggett Myers Tobacco Co.*, the FTC found cigarettes definitively not to be a drug. Section 15 (c) of the Federal Trade Commission Act states,²⁹⁷

The term "drug" means (1) articles recognized in the official United States Pharmacopoeia, official Homoeopathic Pharmacopoeia of the United States, or official National Formulary, or any supplement to any of them; and (2) articles intended for use in the diagnosis, cure, mitigation, treatment, or prevention of disease in man or other animals; and (3) articles (other than food) intended to affect the structure or any function of the body of man or other animals; and (4) articles intended for use as a component of any article specified in clause (1), (2), or (3); but does not include devices or their components, parts, or accessories.²⁹⁸

As a result of this finding, cigarette manufacturers were prohibited from advertising that cigarettes could be smoked without inducing any adverse affects on the nose, throat, and accessory organs.

Because cigarettes were not defined as a drug, jurisdiction was conferred upon the court to issue an injunction against the alleged false advertising under sections 12 and 13(a) of the FTC Act that states that it is unlawful for person, partnership, or corporation to

²⁹⁶ F.T.C. "Hearing Examiner's Initial Decision" (February 5, 1952) Bates Number: 980299330/9331 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/uqo15f00>>

²⁹⁷ Commerce Clearing House, *Trade Regulation Reports* #67, 67,377 Cited 1952 Trade Cases, FTC Vs. Liggett And Myers Tobacco Co. December 18, 1952 Bates Number: 980295134/5159 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/kym85f00>>

²⁹⁸ Federal Trade Commission Act Title 15 - Commerce and Trade Chapter 2 - Federal Trade Commission; Promotion of Export Trade and Prevention of Unfair Methods of Competition. No date. <<http://www.fda.gov/opacom/laws/ftca.htm>> (Retrieved 30 August 2006).

disseminate false advertising.²⁹⁹ As a result of this ruling, Liggett and Myers was forced to stop implying that Chesterfield cigarettes were less irritating.³⁰⁰ The other major cigarette companies such as Lorillard, American Tobacco Company, and R.J. Reynolds were involved in similar legal actions involving the FTC in 1952.

In spite of the FTC's legal actions against the major tobacco companies, many of the brands continued to advertise using the very claims that were just banned. For instance, in 1953 Chesterfield advertised that its cigarettes were "Always milder," "Better tasting," "Cooler smoking," and generally not irritating. In response to Liggett and Meyers' continued reluctance to follow the FTC's orders the Commission stated,

This is the second action instituted by the Commission to halt allegedly false and misleading advertising that Chesterfield cigarettes can be smoked without inducing any adverse effect upon nose, throat, and accessory organs of the smoker...The present complaint alleges that the respondent's advertising represents directly and by implication that Chesterfield cigarettes not only will have no adverse effect on nose and throat and accessory organs, but also (1) that the smoke from Chesterfield cigarettes is milder and cooler and consequently less irritating to the user than other cigarettes, (2) that the smoke from Chesterfield cigarettes will sooth and relax the nerves of smokers irrespective of the physical condition or the smoking habits of the smokers, and (3) that the smoke from Chesterfield cigarettes does not leave an unpleasant aftertaste in the mouth. These claims and representations, according to the complaint, are false, misleading, and deceptive.³⁰¹

After chastising Liggett and Meyers for not heading previous rulings, the FTC complaint mentions that Chesterfield cigarettes are not the only offending brand and that the Commission had previously instituted proceedings and issued orders against American Tobacco Company, R.J. Reynolds Tobacco, P.J. Lorillard Company and Phillip Morris & Co.

²⁹⁹ Commerce Clearing House, *Trade Regulation Reports* #67, 67,377 Cited 1952 Trade Cases, FTC Vs. Liggett And Myers Tobacco Co. (December 18, 1952) Bates Number: 980295134/5159 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/kym85f00>>

³⁰⁰ Commerce Clearing House, *Trade Regulation Reports* #67, 67,377 Cited 1952 Trade Cases, FTC Vs. Liggett And Myers Tobacco Co. (December 18, 1952) Bates Number: 980295134/5159 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/kym85f00>>

³⁰¹ F.T.C. Press Release, January 26, 1953 Bates Number: 968091438/1439 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/suy24f00>> (Retrieved 30 August 2006).

prohibiting the use of a variety of claims, some being of the same general nature as were involved in this complaint.³⁰² In spite of the FTC's adamant complaints regarding health claims made by tobacco companies, particularly Liggett & Meyers' Chesterfield cigarettes, a hearing examiner later dismissed the charges against Liggett & Meyers Tobacco Co. on the grounds that there was not significant public interest, that such statements were merely "puffing" terms, and that the counsel for the complaint had failed to make a prima facie case.³⁰³ Likewise, the cases against the other companies including Phillip Morris were also dismissed.³⁰⁴

After nearly four years of frustrating dealings with the tobacco industry, the Director of FTC's Bureau of Consultation, Charles E. Grandey, contacted the presidents of the major tobacco companies urging them to adhere to some proposed industry standards. The FTC defends its desire for further regulation by stating:

Recent scientific developments with regard to the effects of cigarette smoking have increased the Commission's interest in advertising claims made for such products and have increased the Commission's interest in advertising claims made for such products and have increased its responsibility under the law to prevent the use of false or misleading claims.³⁰⁵

The letter continues by stating that the proposed standards are part of a voluntary code and would not modify the provisions of any existing cease and desist order. Grandey also wrote that he believes that the proposed standards are in accordance with the industry's desire to

³⁰² F.T.C. Press Release, January 26, 1953 Bates Number: 968091438/1439 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/suy24f00>> (Retrieved 30 August 2006).

³⁰³ Howrey-EF, Mason-LB;Mead-JM;Secrest-RT;Gwynne-JW "United States Of America Before Federal Trade Commission; Commissioners: Edward F. Howrey, Chairman, Lowell B. Mason, James B. Mead, John W. Gwynne, Robert T. Secrest ; "In The Matter Of Liggett & Myers Tobacco Company, A Corporation, On Appeal From Initial Decision" March 28, 1955 Bates Number: 980295114/5123 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/iym85f00>> (Retrieved 1 September 2006).

³⁰⁴ Parrish, RM, "United States Of America Before Federal Trade Commission, Commissioners: Edward F. Howrey, Lowell B. Mason, James M. Mead, John W. Gwynne, Robert T. Secrest, In The Matter Of Philip Morris & Company, Ltd., Inc., Docket No. 4794, Decision Of The Commission." March 25, 1955 Bates Number: 980299295/9296 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/lqo15f00>> (Retrieved 1 September 2006).

³⁰⁵ Grandey-CE, FTC, Letter to Paul Hahn. Bates Number: 968237949/7952 (Retrieved 30 August 2006) <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/dlv94f00>>

resolve any scientific questions about its product. The letter closed by asking the tobacco industry executives to provide comments and suggestions about the facility of the FTC's proposed standards as well as an indication of whether each particular company would be willing to abide by the proposed voluntary standards.

The FTC's 1954 proposed standards, for instance, prohibited cigarette advertisements from claiming "directly or by implication that cigarette smoking in general or the smoking of any brand of cigarettes is 'not harmful' or 'not irritating'." The proposed standards also required that advertisements should not imply any medical approval of smoking. Further, the advertisements should not represent directly or indirectly that the smoke of any brand of cigarettes contains any less nicotine, tar or resins than any other brand of cigarettes.³⁰⁶

The suggested standards for cigarette advertising were:

Cigarette advertisements--

- 1) Should not represent directly or by implication that cigarette smoking in general or the smoking of any brand of cigarette is beneficial to health in any respect,
- 2) Should not represent directly or by implication that cigarette smoking in general or the smoking of any brand of cigarettes is (a) not harmful or (b) not irritating,
- 3) Should not represent directly or by implication, including illustrations, that by virtue of its ingredients, method of manufacture, length, added filter, or for any other reason the smoke of any brand of cigarette contains less nicotine, tar, resins, or other deleterious substances unless such representation is supported by impartial scientific test data, which are current at the time of dissemination of the claim, and which conclusively prove the existence of the claimed differences to a significant degree and the claim is limited to the particular deleterious substance or substances.
- 4) Should not refer to (a) the throat, larynx, nose or any other part of the body (b) digestion (c) energy (d) nerves or (e) doctors,
- 5) Should not use any word, term, illustration or combination thereof, in such a way as to indicate medical approval,

³⁰⁶ F.T.C. "The FTC Proposes Standards To Cigarette Companies" September 15, 1954. Bates Number: 963016070/6071 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/hrk85f00>> (Retrieved 30 August 2006).

- 6) Should generally be limited to the subjects of quality, taste, flavor, enjoyment, and other similar matters of opinion,
- 7) Should make no comparative claims regarding the volume of sales of competitive brands or the purchase of particular types, qualities or grades of tobacco unless such a claim is based on verified current information,
- 8) Should contain only genuine testimonials that represent the current opinion of the author who currently smokes the brand named.
NOTE: By publishing any testimonial the advertiser makes all of the direct and implied representations contained therein and all of the standards herein listed apply thereto.
- 9) Should not contain claims accounting to false disparagement of other cigarette manufacturers and their products.³⁰⁷

The purpose of these 1954 “cigarette advertising guides” that were to apply to the entire industry was to close the loopholes in its brand specific decrees. Although the guides specifically prohibit all references to “throat, larynx, lungs, nose or other parts of the body,” or to “digestion, nerves or doctors.” A later press release emphasized that “no advertising should be used which refers to either the presence or absence of any physical effect of smoking.”³⁰⁸ The guides also prohibited all tar and nicotine claims unless definite scientific proof existed that the claims were true. However, the guides specifically allowed the advertising of pleasure and taste.³⁰⁹

The tobacco industry appeared to be relatively accepting of the FTC’s proposed code. For instance, in American Tobacco Company’s President, Paul M. Hahn’s, reply to FTC Director Charles Grandey’s letter he said that American Tobacco Company is in full sympathy with the FTC’s general objectives in its efforts to eliminate questionable claims and implications from all cigarette advertising. However, Hahn continued by stating the advertising of American Tobacco Company’s brands, Lucky Strike, Pall Mall and Tareyton

³⁰⁷ F.T.C. “The FTC Proposes Standards To Cigarette Companies” September 15, 1954. Bates Number: 963016070/6071 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/hrk85f00>> (Retrieved 30 August 2006).

³⁰⁸ Calfee, John E. “The Ghost of Cigarette Advertising Regulation Past” Regulation, 1997 Volume 20(3): <<http://www.cato.org/pubs/regulation/reg20n3d.html>> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

³⁰⁹ Calfee, John E. “The Ghost of Cigarette Advertising Regulation Past” Regulation, 1997 Volume 20(3): <<http://www.cato.org/pubs/regulation/reg20n3d.html>> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

cigarettes, were completely free from of any questionable claims and implications. Therefore, Hahn stated, that American Tobacco Company should “look with favor upon any process that would provide an effective means of bringing about general adherence to such a policy throughout the cigarette industry.”³¹⁰ Hahn continued by stating that American Tobacco Company intended to continue its policy of making no questionable claims or implications in the advertising of its cigarettes. American Tobacco Company would also be willing to abide by any standards that it deems fair and proper. To that end, American Tobacco Company said that it believed that statements made by advertisers should be “truthful, clear, understandable, and warranted by facts.”³¹¹

As a result of the implementation of the code, cigarette advertising changed track within a matter of months. Instead of advertisements that showed dark stains on filters or referred to the health concerns related to smoking, advertisements featured good taste and pleasure. The cigarette advertising practices that are now condemned, such as the upbeat quality of the advertisements and the alluring portraits of the joys of smoking at work and at play, date from the implementation of the FTC’s code in 1955. When it prohibited the mention of doctors and coughs, the FTC removed the most powerful weapons from the small cigarette companies. Even in the face of more convincing cancer research, the sales of cigarettes came back with force in 1955 and continued strongly through the late 1950s and early 1960s.³¹²

In 1955, after the hearing examiner dismissed the charges against Liggett and Meyers

³¹⁰ Hahn-PM, ATCO “Letter to Charles M. Grandey Regarding the FTC’s Proposed Advertising Standards” September 21, 1954. Bates Number: 990774811/4812 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/apd65f00>> (Retrieved 1 September 2006).

³¹¹ Hahn-PM, ATCO “Letter to Charles M. Grandey Regarding the FTC’s Proposed Advertising Standards” September 21, 1954. Bates Number: 990774811/4812 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/apd65f00>> (Retrieved 1 September 2006).

³¹² Calfee, John E. “The Ghost of Cigarette Advertising Regulation Past” *Regulation*, 1997 Volume 20(3): <<http://www.cato.org/pubs/regulation/reg20n3d.html>> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

and other tobacco companies on grounds that the claims were puffery, the FTC ordered that the proceedings before a hearing examiner continue to decide if the makers of Chesterfield cigarettes used false advertising when they claimed that their cigarettes were “Milder,” “Soothing and Relaxing,” and had no “Unpleasant After-Taste.” By reversing this decision and remanding the case to the examiner, the FTC stated:

We do not agree with the examiner’s findings that the representations “Milder,” “Soothing and Relaxing,” and “Unpleasant After-Taste” are laudatory, harmless, or mere “puffing” terms.³¹³

Recognizing that misleading representations are difficult to distinguish and that “puffing” is usually an expression of opinion, the Commission stated:

In our judgment, the questioned representations present sufficient factual issues – as to qualities which Chesterfield cigarettes may or may not possess – to warrant completion of these proceedings.³¹⁴

Although the FTC disagreed with the examiner’s general conclusions, the Commission agreed with the examiner in dismissing the charges revolving around the use of the word “cooler.” The FTC agreed with the examiner’s finding that there was “no evidence, certainly no substantial evidence on the issue of coolness.” However, the Commission wanted the rest of the examiner’s decision to be overturned. As further grounds for reversing the hearing examiner’s decision, the Commission said:

We also do not agree with the hearing examiner’s conclusion that a prima facie case has not been established. There is in the record considerable uncontroverted respectable evidence that is relevant to the issues here involved. Our view is that a prima facie case has been established, by which we do not necessarily mean that on the basis of the present record an order

³¹³ Howrey-EF, Mason-LB, Mead-JM, Secrest-RT, Gwynne-JW “United States Of America Before Federal Trade Commission; Commissioners: Edward F. Howrey, Chairman, Lowell B. Mason, James B. Mead, John W. Gwynne, Robert T. Secrest ; “In The Matter Of Liggett & Myers Tobacco Company, A Corporation, On Appeal From Initial Decision” March 28, 1955 Bates Number: 980295114/5123 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/iy85f00>> (Retrieved 1 September 2006).

³¹⁴ Parrish, RM, “United States Of America Before Federal Trade Commission, Commissioners: Edward F. Howrey, Lowell B. Mason, James M. Mead, John W. Gwynne, Robert T. Secrest, In The Matter Of Philip Morris & Company, Ltd., Inc., Docket No. 4794, Decision Of The Commission.” March 25, 1955 Bates Number: 980299295/9296 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/lqo15f00>> (Retrieved 1 September 2006).

to cease and desist would issue, but rather that there is in the record reliable evidence which, when considered in connection with reasonable inferences which may be drawn therefrom, would probably support an order in the absence of rebutting evidence.³¹⁵

Another issue that was causing additional concern at the FTC was centering on the claims being made about the new filter tip cigarettes. On May 6, 1955 FTC's Director of the Bureau of Consultation, Charles E. Grandey, wrote a letter to Horace G. Hitchcock of the Manhattan law firm Chadbourne, Parke, Whiteside, Wolff & Brophy; the law firm represented the tobacco industry. Grandey wrote,

In recent weeks there has been a noticeable broadening of claims made for filter tip cigarettes. It is therefore especially requested that your company re-examine its present claims for its products, particularly filter tip cigarettes, in light of proposed Guide No. 2. If, upon reexamination, your company finds that any of its claims are not in harmony with the suggested guides, it is requested that the necessary changes to that end be made.³¹⁶

The new advertisements for the filter tip cigarettes implied that filters made cigarette smoking less harmful. This claim was in clear violation of Guide No. 2 that stated that cigarette advertisements "Should not represent directly or by implication that cigarette smoking in general or the smoking of any brand of cigarettes is (a) not harmful or (b) not irritating."

The late 1950s brought more charges against the tobacco industry. After 1955, the fear of cancer persisted but most means for exploiting that fear were prevented. The publicity linking cigarette smoking to cancer took its toll on the industry and smoking began to decline. The industry's response to these events was the aggressive marketing of filtered cigarettes. Filters had been on the market before but had not achieved a significant market

³¹⁵ Parrish, RM, "United States Of America Before Federal Trade Commission, Commissioners: Edward F. Howrey, Lowell B. Mason, James M. Mead, John W. Gwynne, Robert T. Secrest, In The Matter Of Philip Morris & Company, Ltd., Inc., Docket No. 4794, Decision Of The Commission." March 25, 1955 Bates Number: 980299295/9296 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/lqo15f00>> (Retrieved 1 September 2006).

³¹⁶ Grandey-CE, "Letter to Horace Hitchcock," May 6, 1955. Bates Number: 968237839/7840 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/alv94f00>> (Retrieved 1 September 2006).

share. The market share for filtered brands grew from 10 percent in 1954 to 35 percent in 1957.³¹⁷ The reason for this increase was the belief that filters significantly reduced the amount of “tar” that the smoker ingested. Therefore, filters were marketed with direct appeals to smokers’ health concerns. For instance:

L&M: “This is it. L&M filters are just what the doctor ordered!”

Kent: “What a priceless difference in PROTECTION a few extra pennies make!”

Viceroy: “New Health-Guard filter makes Viceroy better for Your Health.”

Parliament: “Recessed Filter – Maximum Health Protection.”³¹⁸

This theme of reassurance surfaced again in the “tar derby,” in which many cigarette brands competed to position themselves as being lower in tar and nicotine than the other brands. Finding this competition identical to a new barrage of health claims, the FTC ordered this practice stopped in 1959-1960.³¹⁹

In 1957 the FTC began to pursue antitrust action against Phillip Morris, Inc. Specifically, the FTC issued a complaint that Phillip Morris was in violation of the Clayton Act. The FTC complaint stated that Phillip Morris “violated and is now violating the provisions of subsection (d) of Section 2 of the Clayton Act as amended by the Robinson-Patman Act (U.S.C. Title 15 Section 13).”³²⁰ The Robinson-Patman Amendment to the Clayton Act requires that, if promotional allowances are given they be made available to all

³¹⁷ Calfee, John E. “The Ghost of Cigarette Advertising Regulation Past” Regulation, 1997 Volume 20(3): <<http://www.cato.org/pubs/regulation/reg20n3d.html>> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

³¹⁸ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715 p.286. <<http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html>> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

³¹⁹ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715 p.286. <<http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html>> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

³²⁰ Parrish-RM, “United States Of America Before Federal Trade Commission, In The Matter Of Philip Morris, Inc., A Corporation, Docket No. 6750” March 27, 1957 Bates Number: 963025756/5760 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/ttk85f00>> (Retrieved 1 September 2006).

competing customers on proportionally equal terms.³²¹ The FTC charged that Phillip Morris,

- 1) Paid allowances in varying amounts to some customers, but did not do so or offer to do so, in any amount, to other competing customers.
- 2) In paying such allowances to competing customers, did so in amounts not equal to the same percentage of such competing customers' net purchases and not proportionately equal by any other test; and did not offer or otherwise accord or make available such allowances to all such competing customers in amounts equal to the largest of such percentages, or proportionately equal by any other test.
- 3) In paying such allowances to competing customers, required some of them to comply with certain terms and to furnish or make certain reciprocal service or payments, but did not require others to do so in any manner or amount, or required them to do so in a less burdensome manner or in lesser amounts, and did not proportionately equal by any test.
- 4) In determining allowances to be paid competing customers, did so on the basis of individual negotiations with each such customer, which resulted in proportionately unequal, different, and arbitrary terms.³²²

As an example of this unlawful treatment of customers, the complaint cites a record of payments made in 1956 to various retailers for items such as posters, carton displays, counter displays, and change trays. The complaint continues by listing the amounts paid to various companies selling the Phillip Morris brand through vending machines. Allowances were also granted to customers functioning as tobacco wholesalers. For example, The Metropolitan Tobacco Company of New York City was paid \$50,000.00 in allowances in 1956, yet nothing was offered to any of the other wholesale customers competing with it.³²³

The cigarette market underwent another informational jolt in 1957. Health experts began to argue that reducing the tar content in cigarettes would be likely to reduce the risk of lung cancer as more studies linking smoking and lung cancer were published. Attention

³²¹ FTC, "Press Release, Publication" April 4, 1957 Bates Number: 963025771/5772 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/wtk85f00>> (Retrieved 1 September 2006).

³²² Parrish-RM, "United States Of America Before Federal Trade Commission, In The Matter Of Philip Morris, Inc., A Corporation, Docket No. 6750" March 27, 1957 Bates Number: 963025756/5760 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/ttk85f00>> (Retrieved 1 September 2006).

³²³ FTC, Press Release, Publication April 4, 1957 Bates Number: 963025767/5768 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/utk85f00>> (Retrieved 1 September 2006).

quickly focused on the newly popular filter cigarettes whose tar and nicotine yield had not yet been publicly revealed. Congressional hearings were held on filter cigarette advertising, new tar and nicotine ratings were published in *Consumer Reports*, and a two part series on cigarette filters appeared in Reader's Digest. Each report concluded that filter cigarettes had been so greatly modified to enhance flavor that their tar and nicotine yield was generally no better than that of nonfilter cigarettes.³²⁴

This news initiated the great "Tar Derby." Notwithstanding the FTC guides, vigorous advertising of tar and nicotine content returned, new filter brands were introduced, and existing filters were improved. And, in a development that the FTC had earlier thought to be technically impossible, the tar and nicotine levels of nonfilter cigarettes was significantly reduced. However, the FTC guides continued to prohibit tar and nicotine claims that were not based on scientific proof. But, with so much noncommercial data on the subject of filters becoming available in technical journals and in the popular press, the "sound scientific data" requirement became another large loophole in the Commission's policy.³²⁵

In July 1957, the Senate introduced a bill that would have required a mandatory warning on cigarette packs. That same month, the House of Representatives introduced a bill that required the disclosure of tar and nicotine levels on cigarette packs. The tobacco industry was in opposition to both bills.³²⁶

However, during this time when FTC regulation was needed most, the Commission

³²⁴ Calfee, John E. "The Ghost of Cigarette Advertising Regulation Past" *Regulation*, 1997 Volume 20(3): <<http://www.cato.org/pubs/regulation/reg20n3d.html>> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

³²⁵ Calfee, John E. "The Ghost of Cigarette Advertising Regulation Past" *Regulation*, 1997 Volume 20(3): <<http://www.cato.org/pubs/regulation/reg20n3d.html>> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

³²⁶ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715.
p.256. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

was found to be relatively unable to enforce any standards on the tobacco industry. In 1958 the FTC was the subject of hearings conducted by the Subcommittee on Legal and Monetary Affairs, over which Representative John A. Blatnik (MN) presided. This Subcommittee was concerned with FTC efficiency in the field of false and misleading advertising in several areas that included filter-tip cigarettes. The topic of advertising for filter-tip cigarettes was of concern to the Subcommittee because of the health related claims that the filter-tip cigarette manufactures were making and because of the fact that the filter-tip cigarettes often contained more nicotine than previous unfiltered cigarettes. Many of the advertisements for filter-tip cigarettes made claims that the tips would remove the elements of smoke that endangered the public's health. However, the true effectiveness of the filters often came into question. The level of nicotine and tar in cigarettes also was a cause for concern. For instance, L&M cigarettes produced by Liggett & Myers contained 1.5 milligrams of nicotine and 11 milligrams of tar in 1955. However, two years later there was a 70 percent increase in nicotine and a 33 percent increase in tar. In 1958 when L&M introduced its filter, the tar content climbed to 17 milligrams. In June of 1958, six prominent brands of cigarettes were all advertising the lowest tar content.³²⁷

While the FTC failed to protect consumers against these false claims, it is also true that the FTC lacked the power to do so. The power of the FTC was limited in controlling tobacco advertising because it did not have the power to ask a court for an injunction when tobacco was concerned. The FTC has this power when the advertising is related to other products such as foods, drugs, cosmetics, and devices. Therefore, the FTC needed this power to effectively govern cigarette advertising.³²⁸

The Tar Derby's climax came during 1959. All six major manufacturers were in the

³²⁷ John A. Blatnik "The Medicine Man under the Eagle's Eye" *The Progressive* (November 1958) p.6.

³²⁸ John A. Blatnik "The Medicine Man under the Eagle's Eye" *The Progressive* (November 1958) p.6.

process of mounting major advertising campaigns to introduce their new lower tar brands, when the FTC intervened. In December of 1959, the Bureau of Consultation at the FTC started to negotiate secretly with the six companies. First, every claim about levels of nicotine and tar would be considered an implied claim of positive health effects. Second, epidemiological evidence of the health effects related to cigarette smoking would be mandated for future claims. Everyone realized that this type of evidence did not exist and could not be produced for many years.³²⁹

The furious Tar Derby was still raging in 1960 when the FTC, which previously had not achieved complete success in trying to get tobacco manufacturers to moderate their claims about filter cigarettes, put its foot down and announced that no more tar-and-nicotine claims would be permitted in cigarette advertising.³³⁰ Early in 1960, the Commission announced it had achieved a significant success from its negotiations with the six companies. The FTC negotiated a "voluntary" industry-wide ban that removed nearly all mention of tars and nicotine instantaneously. For instance, Kent advertisements changed its slogan from "significantly less tars and nicotine than any other filter brand" to "designed with your taste in mind." Likewise, Lorillard reintroduced the unfiltered king-size version of Old Gold, and created a new advertising campaign that would center on the slogan "tender to your taste." Once again the tobacco industry returned its traditional and usually successful course—advertising pleasure, flavor and taste against a backdrop of glamour, beauty, and ease. The formula worked, its success was proven by all-time highs in sales.³³¹

For six years that followed, cigarette advertising was devoid of all references to tar

³²⁹ Calfee, John E. "The Ghost of Cigarette Advertising Regulation Past" *Regulation*, 1997 Volume 20(3): <<http://www.cato.org/pubs/regulation/reg20n3d.html>> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

³³⁰ Whiteside, Thomas *Selling Death: Cigarette Advertising and Public Health*. (1971) New York: Liveright, pp. 18.

³³¹ Calfee, John E. "The Ghost of Cigarette Advertising Regulation Past" *Regulation*, 1997 Volume 20(3): <<http://www.cato.org/pubs/regulation/reg20n3d.html>> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

and nicotine. Likewise, information regarding nicotine and tar nearly disappeared from nearly all other sources as well. *Consumer Reports* stopped publishing its tar and nicotine ratings and *Reader's Digest* continued to do so only occasionally. The new advertising regulations doomed the new low-tar brands. Regarding the FTC intervention, one advertising professional noted: "[Y]ou build a better mousetrap and then they say you can't mention mice or traps."³³²

A Second Attempt at a Voluntary Advertising Code:

In 1963, the United States Department of Justice in collaboration with the FTC began seeking out ways it could create a "voluntary" advertising code that would define "good advertising practices" and eliminate "undesirable advertising." In a May 20, 1963 letter to Robert L. Wald of Wald, Harkrader & Rockefeller, the legal counsel of P. Lorillard Company, from Lee Loevinger, the Assistant Attorney General of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice, undesirable advertising is "advertising that makes an appeal to young persons or which attempts to glamorize smoking by relating it to youth, sex, romance, success, and so forth." The letter continues to state P. Lorillard Company was prepared to submit to the Department of Justice an advertising code that might be adopted.³³³

Because of its legal dealings with the FTC and legislature, the tobacco industry considered whether it was advisable to adopt a voluntary advertising code in 1964. In a meeting of Liggett executives and J. Walter Thompson, Liggett's President, Zach Thoms asked the advertising agency to do some exploratory research on a voluntary advertising code. The proposed code included a warning label that was to have read:

³³² Calfee, John E. "The Ghost of Cigarette Advertising Regulation Past" *Regulation*, 1997 Volume 20(3): <<http://www.cato.org/pubs/regulation/reg20n3d.html>> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

³³³ Loevinger, L.; Us Dept, O.F. Justice. "by Letter of May 20, 1963 (630520) You Have Submitted on Behalf of P. Lorillard Company A Proposed Series of Discussions Relating to Tobacco Advertising for Consideration in Relation to the Antitrust Laws.". 23 May 1963. Bates: 502005761-502005762. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/rjr/502005761-5762.html>

This product is intended for the use of adults only. Excessive use may be injurious to health, and in certain cases, even moderate use may be inadvisable.

However, the tobacco industry had some concerns about how a voluntary cigarette advertising code might relate to antitrust laws. For instance, in the May 20, 1963 letter to Walt of Lorillard Tobacco Company from the U.S. Department of Justice stated the following in reference to potential antitrust concerns that might arise from following the proposed code, "The Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice has concluded that the Department will not institute criminal proceedings against the tobacco companies and/or their representatives..."³³⁴ In a June 19 letter to a Washington law firm representing the industry, Antitrust Division Chief, William, H. Orrick, Jr. noted that the Federal Trade Commission was considering standards to regulate cigarette labeling and advertising and that the House Interstate Commerce Committee would be conducting hearings on a number of bills that would establish regulations for tobacco advertising. "Under these circumstances," Mr. Orrick wrote, "it would be inappropriate for us to give any sanction to the permanent establishment of a private organization, setting industry standards until the views of Congress and the Federal Trade Commission have been made known. In the meantime, however, we assure you that no criminal antitrust prosecution will be brought by us as a result of adherence to the code."³³⁵ If the tobacco industry was not protected from antitrust laws, the code's provisions might raise technical questions of restricting competition through limiting advertising.

Under the terms of the 1964 code, the manufacturers agreed not to advertise on

³³⁴ Loevinger, L.; Us Dept, O.F. Justice. "by Letter of May 20, 1963 (630520) You Have Submitted on Behalf of P. Lorillard Company A Proposed Series of Discussions Relating to Tobacco Advertising for Consideration in Relation to the Antitrust Laws". 23 May 1963. Bates: 502005761-502005762.

<http://tobaccodocuments.org/rjr/502005761-5762.html>

³³⁵ Attr. "Restraints and Monopolies: Tobacco Code Gets Tentative Immunization From Criminal Antitrust Prosecution". 00000623/P. Bates: 2022975660-2022975661. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/pm/2022975660-5661.html>

certain television programs and in certain types of periodicals that targeted a younger audience. Specifically, the code's provisions generally banned the use of celebrity endorsements, advertising in college newspapers and other media directed primarily at those under the age of 21, health claims, and the use of models under the age of 25 or who appear to be under the age of 25. The tobacco industry also agreed not to solicit the trade of persons under 21 years old through the distribution of free cigarette samples.³³⁶ However, the code also discouraged marketing techniques such as trade names for filters (Kent's "Micronite" name, for example, was banned), further reducing the stock of code phrases used to remind smokers of health fears. In 1966, *Time* magazine observed, "between the federal Trade Commission and their own industry's self-imposed Cigarette Advertising Code, cigarette salesmen have just about been reduced to saying that a smoke is a smoke."³³⁷ The authority to enforce the code was given to the Code Administrator who was empowered to assess up to \$100,000.00 in damages. The first and only Code Administrator was New Jersey Governor Robert B. Meyner.³³⁸

Although withdrawing advertising from student newspapers was part of the Cigarette Advertising Code of 1964, the formal decision to withdraw campus advertising was brought before the Tobacco Institute during meeting on June 18, 1963. The minutes from the meeting state,

Mr. [Robert B.] Walker announced that The American Tobacco Company had already decided to terminate its entire college promotional program and

³³⁶ Atrr. "Restraints and Monopolies: Tobacco Code Gets Tentative Immunization From Criminal Antitrust Prosecution". 00000623/P. Bates: 2022975660-2022975661. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/pm/2022975660-5661.html>

³³⁷ Calfee, John E. "The Ghost of Cigarette Advertising Regulation Past" *Regulation*, 1997 Volume 20(3): <<http://www.cato.org/pubs/regulation/reg20n3d.html>> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

³³⁸ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715. p.294-295. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

that the decision was effective and being implemented. Mr. [William S.] Smith stated that R.J. Reynolds had already cancelled its advertising in college publications for the coming fall and that the Reynolds company had also decided to terminate its college promotional program.

Mr. [Morgan J.] Cramer stated that the Lorillard Company had also already decided to terminate its college advertising and promotion. Mr. [Edwin P.] Finch indicated that Brown & Williamson Corporation had been considering the matter, and that it had decided to terminate its program. Mr. [Zach] Toms said that the Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company's current view was that it was going to terminate its college promotion, with the possible exception of college publication advertising using the same copy as they used in national magazines and newspapers. Mr. Paul Smith said that Phillip Morris had been considering the question of college advertising and promotion, but that Mr. Cullman was out of the country and that Phillip Morris had not reached any decision on its policy.³³⁹

In addition to their general consensus, with the exception of Phillip Morris, that cigarettes should no longer be advertised in campus newspapers, the major tobacco companies also decided how they were going to publicize the issue. The minutes for June 18, 1963 continued

It was the consensus of the group that the Institute should not affirmatively seek to publicize the individual decisions of the various companies to give up college advertising and promotional activities. On the other hand, it was felt that, if Mr. [George V.] Allen [President of the Tobacco Institute] should receive inquiries from the trade press or other areas, it would be proper for him to reemphasize the industry's position that smoking is an adult custom and report the fact that, to avoid any confusion and misunderstanding in the public mind as to this position, a number of the member companies of the Institute had each decided to discontinue college advertising and promotional activities.³⁴⁰

On June 19, 1963 the Tobacco Institute's public relations agency, Hill & Knowlton, issued the following statement to the press on the issue of advertising in college newspapers:

In response to a question from Peter Bart of *The New York Times*, George V. Allen, president of The Tobacco Institute, Inc., today made the following statement:

³³⁹ Temko, S.L. "The Tobacco Institute, Inc. Minutes of the Eighteenth Meeting of the Executive Committee". 18 Jun 1963 (est.). Bates: 2022975647-2022975650. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/pm/2022975647-5650.html>

³⁴⁰ Temko, S.L. "The Tobacco Institute, Inc. Minutes of the Eighteenth Meeting of the Executive Committee". 18 Jun 1963 (est.). Bates: 2022975647-2022975650. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/pm/2022975647-5650.html>

"The tobacco industry's position has always been that smoking is an adult custom. To avoid any confusion or misconception in the public mind as to this position, a number of member companies of the Tobacco Institute, I understand, have each decided to discontinue college advertising and promotional activities."³⁴¹

The next meeting of the Tobacco Institute held on July 9, 1963 referenced the large amount of publicity that was centering on decision to discontinue advertising in student newspapers. Nearly every major daily newspaper in the nation covered the decision. The minutes of the meeting stated:

In view of the amount of publicity and speculation expected to attend any announcement bearing on cigarette advertising or promotion, it was suggested by several members that President Allen's announcement should be the only statement of the Institute's activity and that none of the members should speak to the press with respect to the Institute's decisions. It was of course recognized, however, that any press inquiry relative to the decisions or policies of an individual company was peculiarly a matter for the particular company concerned rather than for the Institute.³⁴²

Usually pressure from the FTC had been the impetus for "self-regulation" in the tobacco industry. However, in the case of student newspapers, it seems that the negative publicity that the industry was receiving for advertising on campus motivated the decision, at least in part. The minutes from the July 9, 1963 meeting of the Tobacco Institute also reflect the concern about public opinion. The minutes from the meeting continued by stating,

There then ensued discussion of the continued appearance in the press of repetitious anti-tobacco charges, and the view was expressed that to many members of the public these repetitions of old charges against tobacco were not recognized as such, but were possibly accepted as new material supporting those who have attacked tobacco. The question was considered whether any steps could be taken by the Institute to correct misconceptions that probably resulted from some of the activities of groups which were attacking the use of tobacco as, for example, the possible use by the Institute of ads in newspapers or other media, which would present facts relating to

³⁴¹ Hill Knowlton; Public Relations Counsel. "Statement on College Advertising and Promotion". 19 Jun 1963. Bates: 2022975651. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/pm/2022975651.html>

³⁴²II, Tobacco Inst; Temko, S.L. "the Tobacco Institute, Inc. Minutes of the Nineteenth Meeting of the Executive Committee". 09 Jul 1993 (est.). Bates: 2022975655-2022975656. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/pm/2022975655-5656.html>

tobacco and health and correct some of the distortions and misconceptions which may have arisen.³⁴³

Although public opinion certainly factored into the discontinuation of campus newspaper advertising and the adoption of a new advertising code, the impact of the impending release of the Surgeon General's Report in January of 1964 also factored into the decision-making process. For instance, in September of 1963 Liggett & Myers Tobacco Company's Surgeon General's Committee met about the potential consequences of the Surgeon General's Report and the potential FTC and FDA regulations that might result from the report's findings.

When the 1964 Code was enacted, it was heralded as an exercise in "responsible" self-regulation. However, the Code proved not to be true regulation at all. First, the office of the Code Administrator "practically died stillborn." Even though he had the ability to enact some small changes in advertising practices, such as persuading Liggett to discontinue its use of the term "snowy white" to describe its filter, Governor Meyner found that whenever he endeavored to employ the full scope of his authority, the tobacco industry withdrew from his supervision.³⁴⁴ For instance, Lorillard withdrew from the Code when it was fined for running an unapproved advertisement. All of the cigarette companies except R.J. Reynolds and Phillip Morris followed. However, the judge in the Lorillard case testified that it withdrew from both the Code Authority and the Tobacco Institute because it wanted to promote True cigarette's nicotine and tar levels, a practice forbidden by the code.³⁴⁵ After

³⁴³ TI, Tobacco Inst; Temko, S.L. "the Tobacco Institute, Inc. Minutes of the Nineteenth Meeting of the Executive Committee". 09 Jul 1993 (est.). Bates: 2022975655-2022975656.

<http://tobaccodocuments.org/pm/2022975655-5656.html>

³⁴⁴ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715.

p.295. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

³⁴⁵ Judge Depo. At 233

resisting its own self-regulation, the industry moved into the comfortable position of regulating each other's compliance with the Advertising Code.³⁴⁶

In addition, the Code did not significantly impact the Tobacco Industry's historic reliance on the two advertising themes of safety and glamour. Of course, the identifiable film, television and sports stars no longer appeared in the advertisements. However, in their place appeared depictions of happy, healthy, macho, or glamorous models occupied in a range of exotic or enviable social activities. Like the preceding celebrity advertisements, these messages were designed to increase the cigarette market.³⁴⁷

Furthermore, the Institute's declaration that smoking was "a custom for adults," and thus, presumably not one for non-adults, did have one result that applied on a more general basis than merely the college publication level. In the Fall of 1963, the American Tobacco Company began an extensive campaign for Lucky Strike cigarettes in which the advertising copy stated, "smoking is a pleasure meant for adults." This sentiment appeared under a headline spread over two pages that asserted, "Lucky Strike Separates the Men from the Boys...But Not from the Girls." On the left hand side of the page, the first part of the headline was illustrated by a photograph of a helmeted, Lucky Strike-smoking racecar driver who was smilingly flourishing a winner's cup as he received the envious glances of youth pressing close behind him. The second part of the headline was illustrated by a shot of the same model –still equipped with his cigarette, smile and cup but without the young male

³⁴⁶ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715. p.295. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

³⁴⁷ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715. p.296. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

fans. Instead, the driver is being hugged by a female admirer. Therefore, the advertising professionals used the FTC regulation to transform their advertising message to illustrate the theme that cigarettes are not for boys, thus achieved the opposite effect by making the smoking of Lucky Strike the act that turns a boy into a man.³⁴⁸

Finally, a Victory for the FTC?

The much heralded cigarette advertising code went into full effect on January 1, 1955. Although there is no effective way to rebut the proposition that cigarette companies submitted to the Code's authority, critics of the code believe that they did so only to the extent that it served their economic purposes. For instance, some Congressional Representatives felt that the FTC's Code had not gone far enough. Representative John Blatnik's Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations organized hearings to investigate the FTC's response to misleading advertising by the tobacco industry. And, the report from the hearings concluded that the FTC failed to fulfill its duty by not intervening further. The subcommittee swiftly dissolved and further hearings were cancelled. Some believed that the cancellation was evidence of the strong pro-tobacco forces within Congress.³⁴⁹ However, others believed that the Code was a very effective FTC regulation. A case could be made that Governor Meynor, and by inference, the Advertising Code, affected significant long-term changes in cigarette marketing practices.

Ultimately, when it was released, the political impact of the 1964 Surgeon General's Report was enormous. Within weeks, the FTC published a draft trade rule requiring health warnings in advertisements. The FTC proposed the initiation of proceedings relating to "the advertising and labeling of cigarettes. In June of 1964, rule-making proceedings were

³⁴⁸Thomas Whiteside *Selling Death: Cigarette Advertising and Public Health*. (New York: Liveright, 1971) pp. 29-30.

³⁴⁹Mark Parascandola "Public Health Then and Now: Cigarettes and the US Public Health Service in the 1950s" *American Journal of Public Health*, 91(2) February 2001 pp. 196-205.

initiated to require a health warning on packages, effective January 1, 1965, and advertising, effective July 1, 1965. The proposed warning was that “cigarette smoking is dangerous to health and may cause death from cancer and other diseases.”³⁵⁰

The 1966 Report of Code Authority of the National Association of Broadcasters details four pages of changes in cigarette advertising techniques that were initiated by the Code Administrator. Furthermore, Governor Meynor rejected a number of advertisements and issued a set of procedural regulations. He also helped create regulations that restricted advertising during television programs that had a viewing audience that was over 45 percent under the age of 21. The Code also kept tobacco advertising out of school newspapers.³⁵¹

The 1964 Surgeon General’s Report was the needed impetus that brought the normally passive FTC to action. However, the FTC faced numerous obstacles. In June of 1964, FTC Chairman Paul Rand Dixon declared in testimony before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce that the FTC had decided on a ruling that a strong health warning be put on every cigarette package and included in every advertisement. However, the committee gave Mr. Dixon a hostile reception. The FTC’s proposed ruling led those sympathetic to the tobacco industry to accuse it of discriminating against a legally sold product and of usurping the legislative functions of Congress.³⁵²

The FTC did not receive any support from President Johnson. In fact, the White House intervened to delay putting the agency’s ruling into effect. In spite of what the Surgeon General said about the hazardous effects of cigarette smoking, the opposition to cigarette advertising regulation was formidable. Tobacco was a one-billion-dollar-a-year

³⁵⁰ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715. p.259.

<http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

³⁵¹ Whiteside, Thomas *Selling Death: Cigarette Advertising and Public Health*. (1971) New York: Liveright, pp. 46-47.

³⁵² Whiteside, Thomas *Selling Death: Cigarette Advertising and Public Health*. (1971) New York: Liveright, pp. 46-47.

agricultural product and a ten-billion-dollar-a-year consumer product, from which federal and state governments gained over four-billion-dollars-a-year in tax revenue. The Department of Agriculture regularly subsidized it with millions of dollars in price supports.³⁵³

At the time of the Surgeon General's report, the tobacco industry was spending \$250 million each year on advertising. The weight of the combined strength of the tobacco industry and its allies was felt in the form of the proposed legislation named the Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Bill of 1965. This legislation appeared to protect smokers by requiring a warning on cigarette packs (Caution: Cigarette Smoking May be Hazardous to your health). However, in the end, it would actually constitute a legislative triumph for the tobacco lobby. This piece of legislation was considered a victory for tobacco because it prevented the FTC or any other government agency from mandating that tobacco companies include a health warning in their cigarette advertising for the next four years. The cigarette manufacturers continued merchandising their products with new vigor.³⁵⁴

Although it endured some hard blows, the American cigarette industry remained undefeated. For instance, although the industry received a great deal of negative publicity, if you measured the influence of cigarette advertising against the anti-tobacco information, advertising and pro-smoking messages still claimed an undisputed victory. The initial drop in cigarette sales caused by the Surgeon General's Report and the *Reader's Digest* articles was ultimately recovered. From 1953 to 1970 the number of cigarettes smoked in the U.S. in a year increased from three hundred and eighty seven billion to more than half a trillion. Only part of this market growth could be explained by an increase in population or on an adult per capita basis. Therefore, the prosperity of the American tobacco industry, in spite of its

³⁵³ Whiteside, Thomas *Selling Death: Cigarette Advertising and Public Health*. (1971) New York: Liveright, pp. 46-47.

³⁵⁴ Whiteside, Thomas *Selling Death: Cigarette Advertising and Public Health*. (1971) New York: Liveright, pp. 46-47.

problems, was still greater than any other period in history.³⁵⁵

Therefore, the anticipated Surgeon General's report alone did not necessitate the creation of the FTC's Code and the removal of the advertisements in the college student newspapers. Nor, was it the case that medical findings had no role, because without the release of the medical reports and statements during the 1950s and 1960s the collegiate community's response as well as the FTC's response to the issue would likely have been even slower. But there were a variety of other factors that influenced how the medical statements and reports were translated into a regulatory strategy, and those factors eventually tipped the balance in the direction of tobacco advertising regulation.

³⁵⁵ Whiteside, Thomas *Selling Death: Cigarette Advertising and Public Health*. (1971) New York: Liveright, pp. 26-27.

Chapter Five: Results From the Study of *The Orange and White*

In order to better understand the influence that cigarette manufacturers had on college campuses, this study looks at the advertisements that were printed in *The Orange and White*. The internal tobacco industry documents show that the same national advertisements were printed in dozens of universities across the nation.³⁵⁶ Therefore, the advertisements printed in *The Orange and White* are fairly representative of what one would find in any large university in the United States.

Research Models:

The data analysis for this paper is divided into two parts. The first section provides charts and graphs that provide descriptive statistical information about the data. The analysis examines the number of advertisements that were printed in *The Orange and White* each year, the brands that were advertised, and the creative strategies and tactics that were used. After a discussion of the charts and graphs, the paper follows with a discussion of the advertising campaigns that were used for each brand during the decade being examined. (All figures are located in the appendix that starts on page 217 and ends on page 348.)

Taylor's Strategy Wheel:

Researchers who study creative and message strategy have recognized the importance of mapping the various strategies in advertising. One model that maps various creative strategies is Taylor's Six-Segment Strategy Wheel. The strategy is based in the Foote,

³⁵⁶ "Lucky Strike List of College Newspapers Fall -1962" Bates: 60233809 and 621407128 (Produced from the Brown and Williamson Website) <http://tobaccodocuments.org/atc/60233809.html> [Retrieved June 30, 2006]
"Dual Filter Tareyton List of College Newspapers Fall -1962" Bates: 621407151 (Produced from the Brown and Williamson Website) <http://tobaccodocuments.org/atc/60233809.html> [Retrieved June 30, 2006]
"Old Gold College Newspaper Test Campaign" (1962) Bates: 84439464
<http://tobaccodocuments.org/atc/84439464.html> [Retrieved June 30, 2006]

Cone, & Belding (FCB) Grid. The FCB Grid combines high and low level involvement and left and right brain specialization.³⁵⁷

The first division of the strategy wheel divides the wheel into a “Transmission view” and “Ritual view,” based on the work of James Carey. The terms “informational” and “transformational,” “claim” and “image,” and “rational” and “emotional” have also been used to label this distinction. The wheel identifies six message strategies, three transmission-based strategies and three ritual-based strategies.³⁵⁸

The first strategy wheel segment (ego segment) is characterized by the Freudian Psychoanalytic Model. Products that are ego-related fulfill consumer’s emotional needs. These products allow the consumer to make a statement about who he or she is. The role of communication is to show how the product fits within the consumer’s definition of who he or she is. The second strategy wheel segment (social segment) is characterized by the Veblenian Social-Psychological Model. In this segment, products are used to make a statement to others and emotional needs are fulfilled by products that are visible to others. Appeals are directed towards being noticed, gaining social approval. The third segment (sensory segment) is based in Cyrenaics philosophy. Products provide consumers with moments of pleasure. Communication transforms the product into a pleasurable moment. The Pavlovian Learning Model characterizes the fourth segment (routine segment). Consumer decisions are motivated by rational buying motives. However, consumers do not invest large amounts of deliberation time and buy according to habit. Urgent needs characterize the fifth segment (acute need). Consumers desire pre-purchase information but time constraints limit the research process. Communication serves to build brand familiarity

³⁵⁷ R. E. Taylor “A six-segment message strategy wheel.” *Journal of Advertising Research*, (1999) 39, 6 pp. 7-17.

³⁵⁸ R. E. Taylor “A six-segment message strategy wheel.” *Journal of Advertising Research*, (1999) 39, 6 pp. 7-17.

and recognition so that the brand is known and trusted. The sixth segment (rational segment) is typified by the Marshallian Economic Model. Consumers are assumed to be rational, conscious, and deliberative individuals. The consumers' desire for product-related information is high. Product messages aim to inform and persuade (see Figure 1).³⁵⁹

Advertisements were coded according to which segment represented the dominant strategy in the message. However, many messages use multiple strategies. However, for the sake of the charts and graphs, only one dominant strategy was selected. If multiple strategies were used in a campaign, they are discussed later in the results section when specific advertisements and campaigns are addressed.

Message Appeals:

Like creative strategy, the individual tactics and appeals that are used in an advertisement are important elements to examine. Creative strategy is usually thought to be the larger ideas that govern a particular advertising or marketing campaign. Message appeals and tactics are the particular techniques that are used to accomplish the ends of the selected strategy. Therefore, the tactics are the particular persuasive devices that work to help accomplish the advertisement's general persuasive goals. Usually, presenting product-related data and statistics is not enough to alter a consumer's attitude or behavior. Some appeal or incentive needs to be employed to create change. Message appeals include reward appeals and emotional appeals.

Although people experience an array of emotions, three basic emotions are used most frequently in advertising. The three appeals that are used most frequently used are fear, humor, and warmth. Within the context of emotional appeals, humor is the emotional

³⁵⁹ R. E. Taylor "A six-segment message strategy wheel." *Journal of Advertising Research*, (1999) 39, 6 pp. 7-17.

appeal that is used most frequently in cigarette advertisements.³⁶⁰ Although humor appeals are the most frequently used emotional appeal in cigarette advertising, many scholars argue that humor does not persuade. However, research has shown that 20-44% of television commercials use humor. Some research-supported guidelines suggest males are more influenced by humor and that humor promotes positive affect and less counter arguing.³⁶¹

In addition to examining the influence of emotions, one can also examine the influence of the communicator. Traditionally, communication scholars have devoted considerable attention to “source credibility.” A source that is perceived to possess high levels of expertise by receivers as trained, experienced, skillful, informed, authoritative, able, and intelligent. Of course, different expert sources are important in different persuasion areas.³⁶² For instance, some tobacco advertisements made use of experts such as tobacconists and physicians to promote the safety and quality of the product.

On the other hand, sometimes consumers respond to persuasion from sources that are similar to themselves. Examples of similar sources are people with the same problems, the same concerns, who are the same age, and who have the same interests and preferences. In addition, researchers have found that similarity increases message compliance.³⁶³ The similarity or “peer appeal” has a stronger influence on audience members when the source is a member of the same age group as the consumer.³⁶⁴ In addition to similarity, physical attractiveness also plays a role in advertising. There is considerable evidence that attractive

³⁶⁰ Erwin P. Bettinghaus and M.J. Cody *Persuasive Communication: Fifth Edition* (Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1994) pp. 71-145.

³⁶¹ Lammers, Leibowitz, Seymour, and Hennessey “Humor and cognitive response stimuli” P.E. McGhee and J.H. Goldstein eds., *Handbook of Humor Research* (1983) New York: Springer-Verlag.

³⁶² G. Chronkrite and J. Liska “The Judgment of Communicant Acceptability” in M.E. Roloff and G.R. Miller, eds. *Persuasion: New Directions in Theory and Research* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980), pp. 101-139.

³⁶³ E. Berscheid “Opinion Change and Communicator-Communicatee Similarity and Dissimilarity” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 4 (1966), pp. 670-680.

³⁶⁴ J. Canton, H. Alfonso, and D. Zillman, “The Persuasive Effectiveness of the Peer Appeal and a Communicator’s First-Hand Experience” *Communication Research*, 3 (1975), pp.293-310.

people are perceived to be more likable, friendly, interesting, poised, to make more money, and so forth.³⁶⁵

The use of celebrity can be another extremely effective source tactic. Celebrities are most effective when the celebrity is an individual that consumers have a strong attachment for. Second, children are strongly influenced by celebrities who are currently “in.”³⁶⁶ Receivers also tend to follow the recommendations of celebrities if doing so helps them adapt to their environment. Another factor that can influence whether a celebrity will effectively endorse a product is the degree of match-up between the product and the celebrity spokesperson.³⁶⁷

Another way through which a spokesperson, celebrity, expert or otherwise, might influence consumers is through a power relationship. Individuals in a power relationship can use rewards and punishments when influencing others. According to Raven, there are six basic types of social influence: informational, referent, expert, legitimate, reward, and coercive. The primary types of social influence observed in cigarette advertising were referent, reward, expert, and informational.³⁶⁸ Referent influence stems from the fact that the receiver identifies with the source or influence agent. The term “referent” is used to parallel the use of the term “referent group” in sociology. Referent group identification has a strong influence on behavior.³⁶⁹ When a person is attracted to another, and perceives similarity between them, he or she may comply with a request. Generally, any appeal to similarity or

³⁶⁵ E. Berscheid and E. Walster “Physical Attractiveness,” in L. Berkowitz ed. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, volume 7, (New York: Academic Press, 1974) pp.157-215.

³⁶⁶ G. Chronkhite and J. Liska “The Judgment of Communicant Acceptability” in M.E. Roloff and G.R. Miller, eds. *Persuasion: New Directions in Theory and Research* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980), pp. 101-139.

³⁶⁷ L.R. Kahle and P.M. Homer, “Physical Attractiveness of the Celebrity Endorser: A Social Adaptation Perspective.” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 11 (1985) pp.954-961.

³⁶⁸ Erwin P. Bettinghaus and M.J. Cody *Persuasive Communication: Fifth Edition* (Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1994) pp. 71-145.

³⁶⁹ Erwin P. Bettinghaus and M.J. Cody *Persuasive Communication: Fifth Edition* (Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1994) pp. 71-145.

mutual attraction can be called an instance of referent influence. A speaker that has expert influence or power over the receiver if the receiver believes that the source has superior knowledge or ability. Expert influence often influences private behavior or private adoption of beliefs. Reward influence is exerted if the agent can provide a positive incentive to a particular audience member. Sources who reward their audiences often promote more positive interactions between the target audience and the source. Further, agents who reward targets do not necessarily increase the extent to which the target identifies with them. Speakers also can try to influence through the use of information not previously available to receivers, or to employ logic or argument that receivers have not considered. Informational influence includes attempts at influencing others based on the content of the message, a message including facts, evidence, testimony or logical argument. Informational influence results in both a change in overt behavior and in private beliefs.³⁷⁰

In addition to coding advertisements according to the six segments of the Strategy Wheel, advertisements were also coded according to the persuasive message appeals that were used. These message appeals are called “creative tactics” in the charts and figures in this chapter of the paper. The creative tactics listed in the charts and figures include: celebrity appeals, referent appeals, informational appeals, humor appeals, reward appeals, and expert appeals. In order to differentiate celebrities and experts appeals from tactics that involve using a similar and/or attractive source, the term referent is used for non-expert and non-celebrity sources. However, it should be noted that some of the literature does use the term referent to encompass celebrity, expert and similar and/or attractive sources. The only tactics that were not derived from the literature were those that intended “to entertain” the audience. This category emerged from the data. For instance, a number of cigarette

³⁷⁰ Erwin P. Bettinghaus and M.J. Cody *Persuasive Communication: Fifth Edition* (Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1994) pp. 71-145.

advertisements used puzzles, games, or riddles to entice their audience to interact with their advertisement and product. Each advertisement was placed into only one category.

The Orange and White was published from September until June of each academic year. Because advertising campaigns in student newspapers are generally printed according to the academic year instead of the calendar year, the academic year was used for counting and classifying advertisements. However, in order to save space in the charts and graphs, the academic years are referenced according to the first year of the academic year (For instance, the 1920-1921 academic year is referenced as 1920).

General Frequency Information for *The Orange and White* from 1920-1963:

From 1920-1921 academic year to the 1963-1964 academic year, *The Orange and White* published a total of 2,399 advertisements that promoted the sale of cigarettes. The first cigarette advertisement appeared on February 24, 1921 and the final advertisement appeared on November 26, 1963. The 2,399 cigarette advertisements were published in a total of 1,650 issues of *The Orange and White*. The average number of cigarette advertisements to appear in a single issue of *The Orange and White* from the 1920-1921 academic year to the 1963-1964 academic year equals 1.5 ads.

Figure two shows the number of newspapers that were published, by decade, from 1920 to 1963. The second chart provides a comparison of the number of cigarette advertisements that were run in *The Orange and White* from the 1920-1921 academic year to the 1963-1964 academic year (see Figure 3). As the chart shows, the 1920s had the fewest number of advertisements with only 244 advertisements printed. The 1950s have the highest advertising frequency with a total of 966 advertisements. If the first and second charts are compared, it becomes evident that the increases in advertisements are not always linked to an increase in newspapers published. For instance, the largest number of editions of *The*

Orange and White were published in the 1940s, however, the 1940s had relatively few advertisements for cigarettes (see Figure 2).

Figure four shows the variation in the number of cigarette advertisements printed in *The Orange and White* each decade. The graph clearly shows that even though the 1950s represents the highest frequency cigarette of advertising, other decades surpass or match the 1950s in the number of cigarette advertisements published. For instance, the 1930s and the 1960s surpass the 1950s at times. Likewise, at times, the 1920s nearly matches or surpasses the 1930s, 1940s, and 1960s advertising frequency (see Figure 4).

Figure five shows the frequency of advertising as it relates to the twelve most frequent cigarette advertisers in *The Orange and White*. As the decades progress from the 1920s to the 1960s the number of cigarette advertisers steadily increased. One of the primary reasons for the increase in advertisers is the increase in the number of cigarette brands offered due to the introduction of filtered brands. However, the most popular unfiltered brands, Chesterfield, Camel, and Lucky Strike advertise consistently until 1963 in spite of the introduction of filters (see Figure 5).

Figure six shows the most frequent cigarette advertisers for unfiltered cigarettes. Because filters were not introduced until the 1950s, this chart represents some of the largest cigarette advertisers in *The Orange and White*. Overall, Camel, Chesterfield (Chester.), and Lucky Strike (Luckies) are the most frequently promoted brands (see Figure 6).

Although their overall numbers are far lower than the unfiltered brands, the major filtered cigarette brands were more prevalent than their unfiltered counterparts from the mid 1950s until the end of cigarette advertising in 1964. The top four advertisers were Tareyton, Marlboro, Viceroy, and L&M or Liggett and Meyers. Although a menthol cigarette, Salem is included because it also advertised its filter (see Figure 7).

From the 1920s until the 1960s three major creative strategies dominated cigarette-advertising campaigns found in *The Orange and White*. From the 1930s until the 1960s the sensory approach dominated. However, in the 1920s and early 1930s the social strategy was most frequent because the social acceptability of smoking was in question. Likewise, during the late 1950s and early 1960s the social approach became more important because of the health consequences associated with smoking (see Figure 8).

Cigarette Advertising in the *Orange and White* during the 1920s:

The 1920s are a significant decade for cigarette advertising in campus newspapers because cigarette advertising began in campus newspapers during the 1920s and because cigarette advertising was working to make cigarette smoking more socially acceptable. Social acceptability was an essential issue among potential female smokers. The first cigarette advertisement appeared in the *Orange and White* on February 24, 1921. Chesterfield was the advertiser. Although cigarette advertising had a rather slow start during the 1920s, by the end of the decade cigarette advertising had a consistent place in the student newspaper. During the 1920s, a total of 244 cigarette advertisements were printed in the 300 issues of the *Orange and White* printed from 1920 to 1929. Thus, an average of .82 advertisements appeared in each edition of the newspaper.

During the 1920s, cigarette advertising increased but the advertising trend does not show a steady increase. Instead, the record shows a series of spikes. The following academic years had the greatest frequency of cigarette advertisements 1921-1922, 1926-1927, 1927-1928, and 1928-1929 academic years.³⁷¹ The following academic years had the lowest frequency of cigarette advertising 1920-1921, 1922-1923, 1924-1925, and 1925-1926 (see Figure 9).

³⁷¹ Please note that the years listed on graphs represent the first year of the academic year. For instance, the year 1920 represents the 1920-1921 academic year.

Four brands were advertised during the 1920s, Chesterfield, Old Gold, Fatima, and Camel. Chesterfield was the most frequently advertised brand with a total of 84 advertisements or 34% of the total advertising. Camel follows Chesterfield with a total of 73 advertisements or 30% of the advertising. Old Gold comes next with 61 advertisements or 25% of the advertising. And, Fatima is last with a total of 26 advertisements or 11% of the advertising (see Figures 10 and 11).

As both of these charts demonstrate, social strategies were the most prevalent approaches used in cigarette advertising in the *Orange and White* during the 1920s. Social strategies represented 67% of the advertising, or 164 total ads. The second most popular segment was the rational segment with 49 advertisements, or 20%, of the total number of cigarette advertisements. Both the ego and routine strategies comprised 5% of the total cigarette advertisements or 12 advertisements. The sensory approach was used in 7 advertisements or 3% of the total advertisements (see Figures 12 and 13).

During the 1920s, the referent appeal was the most prevalent approach used in cigarette advertising in the *Orange and White* representing 52% of cigarette advertising or 127 advertisements. Humor appeals were the second most prevalent tactic used in cigarette advertising in the *Orange and White* representing 21% or 51 advertisements. Tactics that served to inform the audience represented 11% or 27 advertisements. Appeals that emphasized a particular brand's value or price represented 8% or 19 advertisements. Tactics that focused on brand loyalty represented 4% of the advertising or 10 advertisements. Celebrity appeals represent 3% of cigarette advertising or 7 advertisements. Reward influence comprised 1% of cigarette advertising or 3 advertisements (see Figures 14 and 15).

One of the primary reasons that the referent appeal and social strategy seemed to dominate the *Orange and White* advertising campaigns during the 1920s was the need to make

cigarette smoking socially acceptable. During the 1920-1921 academic year, the vast majority, 12 of the 13 total advertisements, of the cigarette advertisements only featured men. The one advertisement that featured a woman did not depict her as a smoker. Chesterfield was the only advertiser during this academic year. No people were featured in the cigarette advertising campaign during the 1921-1922 academic year. Fatima was the only brand advertised. During the 1922-1923 academic year 15 of the 16 total advertisements only featured men and the one advertisement that depicted both sexes did not show either person smoking. Fatima was the only brand promoted. During the 1924-1925 academic year, no cigarette advertisements appeared in the *Orange and White*. For the 1925-1926 academic year, the advertisements featured men only. Camel was the only advertiser. For the first time during the 1926-1927 academic year, more than one cigarette advertiser bought advertising space in the *Orange and White*. Chesterfield, Old Gold, and Camel advertised using primarily men in the 41 advertisements that appeared in the *Orange and White*. A few ads featured women and three advertisements depicted women smoking. During the 1927-1928 academic year, Chesterfield, Camel, and Old Gold continued to advertise and the number of women in advertisements continued to increase. Of the 50 advertisements printed, 35 featured women and eight of the 35 showed women as smokers. More than half of the advertisements featured women. In the 1928-1929 academic year, 20 of the 42 advertisements featured women in some capacity. Again, about half of the advertisements included women. And, Chesterfield, Camel, and Old Gold continued to be the primary advertisers. During the 1929-1930 academic year the number of cigarette advertisements fell to 25 and Old Gold and Chesterfield were the only advertisers. However, 15 advertisements, nearly two-thirds of the total, featured women (see Figure 16).

Advertisements published in the *Orange and White* During the 1920s:

Chesterfield:

The first cigarette advertisement was printed in the *Orange and White* on February 24, 1921. The advertisement for Chesterfield Cigarettes was a quarter of a page in size. The campaign utilized a social strategy that marked occasions for smoking cigarettes. For instance, the example in the figure provided (see Figure 17) centers on a sitting for a portrait. The man being photographed is nervous but the photographer makes him smile by showing him a package of Chesterfields. Therefore, this soft-sell approach shows that cigarettes can be used to put someone at ease. The primary tactic that is used is humor. The headline reads, “I smiled – and he shot me.” This initially shocking statement is further explained through the text. The text reads:

“I smiled – and he shot me.”
AFTER MONTHS and months,
MY WIFE Persuaded me.
SO I went around
TO THE photographer,
AND GOT mugged.
WHEN THE pictures came,
I SHOWED them to a gang,
OF AMATURE art critics,
AND PROFESSIONAL crabs,
DISGUISED as friends
WHO FAVORED me.
WITH SUCH remarks as
“DOESN’T HE look natural?”
“HAS IT got a tail?”
“A GREAT resemblance.”
AND THAT last one
MADE ME sore.
SO WHEN friend wife
ADDED HER howl
I TRIED again.
THIS TIME they were great.
FOR HERE’S What happened.
THE PHOTOGRAPHER said,
“LOOK THIS way please”
AND HELD up something
AS HE pushed the button,
AND NO one could help

BUT LOOK pleasant.
FOR WHAT he held up
WAS A nice full pack
OF THE cigarettes
THAT SATISFY.

Other advertisements in this campaign were entitled “Every man in class knew the answer, “The tale of a dog – with a moral,” and “Transfer? A fat chance!” The advertisements were targeted at college-aged men.

Humor appeals are used throughout the advertisement in the description of the situations and the double-meanings of the words that are used. Humor is a tactic that complements a social strategy because humor is an important facet of social situations. Although the social strategy is the primary vehicle used to help persuade the audience, a sensory strategy is also employed. The man being photographed smiles because Chesterfield cigarettes satisfy.

Because the question of women smoking was a prevalent issue on college campuses, this first advertising campaign centers on male characters. Only one advertisement features a female and she is not depicted as a smoker. This Chesterfield campaign lasted until June 2, 1921. Another important feature of this advertising campaign is that it appears to have been developed for college students. Several of the advertisements mention the collegiate environment or professors.

After several years without making an appearance in the *Orange and White*, Chesterfield advertises again during the 1926-1927 academic year. Again, Chesterfield uses a social strategy. The advertisement shows men at a nightclub purchasing cigarettes from a cigarette girl. The dominant strategy in this advertisement is a social strategy. The text reads, “The natural choice – Out of the whole lot men pick Chesterfield for its genuine tobacco character –its natural good taste.” The text and the image reinforce the popularity of

Chesterfield. In addition, the text suggests that smoking is a habit for men. This text might serve to pacify universities that opposed women smoking (see Figure 18).

However, by the 1928-1929 academic year Chesterfield seemed to be marketing to both men and women. The text of the advertisements no longer suggested that cigarette smoking was a practice for men. Women became active participants in the storyline plots and it was even suggested that they might smoke. To encourage the idea that smoking might be acceptable for women, a social strategy is used that allows women to fit within a smoking culture (see Figure 19).

Camel:

On October 20, 1921, the first Camel advertisement was published in the *Orange and White*. Instead of using a soft-sell approach like the first Chesterfield advertisements, Camel uses a rational approach that focuses on product quality. The advertisement describes the packaging that keeps the tobacco air-tight. Informational tactics reinforces the rational approach by persuading the consumer by providing privileged facts. Further, the advertisement states that Camels are for “men who think for themselves.” This reinforces both the rational strategy and the fact that smoking was not appropriate for college women. A secondary strategy that is present in this advertisement is the sensory strategy. The primary objective of the special cigarette packaging is to preserve taste. This campaign ran for the entire 1921-1922 academic year (see Figure 20).

Camel did not advertise in the *Orange and White* again until the 1925-1926 academic year. This advertisement uses a sensory strategy that positions smoking Camels as a reward after a long journey. The headline reads, “When silvery moonlight falls on town and field – and the long, joyous tour home is ready to begin – have a Camel!” This advertisement also emphasizes an aspirational lifestyle. The advertisement uses a referent appeal in its use of a

luxury vehicle and a wealthy couple enjoying an evening drive. However, neither person is shown with a cigarette (see Figure 21).

During the 1926-1927 academic year, Camel continued to combine a sensory strategy with referent appeals. Instead of an evening drive, this time the context is a formal social gathering. The headline reads, “Some call it mellowness...” and the text continues by describing the high-quality tobacco used in Camel Cigarettes. The image in the advertisement shows a party where men smoke and women are shown in the background dancing (see Figure 22).

Camel returned to a rational strategy that focused on product-related information during the 1928-1929 academic year. A secondary strategy that comes into play is the sensory strategy. The reason that Camel is particular about its product quality is because of the brand’s desire to make enjoyable cigarettes (see Figure 23).

Fatima:

In its first college advertising campaign in the *Orange and White* during the 1922-1923 academic year, Fatima made use of a popular advertising figure during the early 20th century, namely the bellhop. Bellhops or bellboys were frequently called upon to perform services for hotel guests. These errands could include delivering necessary items. And, one such item could be a pack of cigarettes. The turn of the century bellhop is also a recognizable symbol of the hospitality industry. Hoteliers take pride in the services they provide. The bellhop’s image is that of a helpful, friendly individual, someone you can turn to for assistance or information. The use of the bellhop also communicated luxury because expensive hotels frequently used bellboys (see Figure 24).

This campaign strategy combines an ego strategy with a routine strategy. The headline “Day in and day out!” suggests the cigarette can be depended upon to satisfy. The

large fluted Doric columns and the use of the bellhop suggests the luxury of the hotel and implies that the cigarette is high quality through association.

Fatima was not the only organization to make use of the bellboy in its advertising. Numerous advertisers used the bellhop to promote their products. At the turn of the century bellboys were often black and the black bellboy became a popular icon in the early 20th century consciousness (see Figure 25).

Fatima changed its campaign for the 1923-1924 academic year. Instead of using the bellhop and a luxury hotel to communicate quality, Fatima used an exotic social scene. The headline, “What a difference just a few cents make!” accompanied by a scene from a downhill skiing resort, suggests that Fatima is a luxury or ego brand. Thus, Fatima continued with the same ego strategy but changed the execution. Instead of using a bellhop, Fatima used the appeal of an aspirational social group. Unlike previous advertisements, this campaign used women prominently in the advertisements. However, the women were not depicted as smokers (see Figure 26).

Old Gold:

Old Gold began advertising in the *Orange and White* during the 1926-1927 academic year. The brand began advertising with the “Something Always takes the Joy out of Life” comic strip. A renowned cartoonist named Clare Briggs created the comic. Briggs was a featured cartoonist during the peak of American Newspapering, which spanned from 1900 to 1930. Briggs was born in Reedsburg, Wisconsin in 1875 and resided there until 1884 when he and his parents moved to Dixon, Illinois. Briggs's cartoons were syndicated across the country and, by the 1920's, he was one of the most highly paid illustrators in the United States. In addition to his newspaper work, Briggs also published a number of books of cartoons, *Skin-nay*, *The Days of Real Sport*, *Ain't It a Grand and Glorious Feeling*, and *When a Feller*

Needs a Friend, also reached a large audience.³⁷² Many of the comic strips printed in the *Orange and White* featured the titles of his books of cartoons such as “Ain’t It a Grand and Glorious Feeling” and “When a Feller Needs a Friend.” The comic strip combined a social strategy that emphasized the social acceptability of smoking and, the importance of smoking Old Gold in particular, with humor tactics. This particular advertisement emphasizes the necessity of smoking Old Gold to make a good impression on a date. The fact that Old Gold does not irritate the throat is of particular importance. The advertisement concludes with Old Gold’s slogan “Not a Cough in the Carload (see Figure 27).

Like many other cigarette advertisers, Old Gold was eager to prove that cigarette smoking was socially acceptable for women by the end of the 1920s. Old Gold’s 1927-1928 campaign featured various prominent people who attested that Old Gold cigarettes were the best. It was the first cigarette campaign to use celebrity tactics in the *Orange and White*. For instance, in this particular advertisement heiress Gloria Laura Mercedes Morgan-Vanderbilt selected Old Gold as her cigarette of choice in a blind taste test (see Figure 28). This advertisement combines a sensory strategy with a celebrity testimonial tactic to help persuade women to start smoking.

During the 1928-1929 academic year, Old Gold continued to target women. Instead of using a taste test, this campaign again focused on persuading the audience that smoking Old Gold cigarettes does not cause coughing. This sensory strategy appeals to what the cigarettes do not do. In addition to the sensory strategy, the advertisement uses a celebrity testimonial tactic. Madge Bellamy praises Old Gold for being easy on her throat (see Figure

³⁷² “Briggs” Reedsburg, Wisconsin Website, (2000) <http://www.reedsburg.com/briggs.htm> [Retrieved June 15, 2007]

29). The campaign also included the testimonial of the famous artist and illustrator James Montgomery Flagg.³⁷³

In addition to celebrity testimonials, Old Gold also published statements from local tobacconists that were popular with the University of Tennessee students in their advertisements. For instance, Gray Piper Drug Co., located at 1506 West Cumberland, Knoxville, TN said,

“The growth of OLD GOLD Cigarettes’ popularity here has been amazing to me, but what interests me most is the way students stick to the brand after they start smoking it. OLD GOLD smokers don’t switch.”³⁷⁴

Another leading tobacconist that served University of Tennessee students, J. Blaufeld & Son, 516 Gay Street, Knoxville, TN said,

“OLD GOLD is easily the fastest-growing cigarette in this locality, and I shouldn’t be surprised before long to find it the most popular cigarette on the campus. The boys sure do like its smoothness.”³⁷⁵

Because of the tobacco industry’s large budget, cigarette advertisers often could hire famous artists and designers to create their advertising. Few artists define an age as completely as John Held Jr. In many ways, he defines the "Roaring Twenties." Harold Ross, who was a boyhood friend created a feature called “Gay Nineties” that poked gentle fun at the previous generation. Done in linoleum cuts, these images have come to symbolize the era almost as much as his flappers are associated with the Twenties.

Seldom have two generations experienced such a gap. Mothers who grew up with those petticoats and hoopskirts must have looked at their flapper daughters and wondered how they could have gone so wrong. In popular magazines like *Vanity Fair*, *Harper’s Bazaar*, and *Redbook*, his images of Betty Coed and Joe College were placed weekly before an adoring

³⁷³ *Orange and White*, April 26, 1928`

³⁷⁴ *Orange and White*, April 12, 1928`

³⁷⁵ *Orange and White*, April 5, 1928`

public of parents who longed to see some humor in the situation and the teenaged and college crowd who looked to them as role and style models. The skirts were never quite that short, nor were the sheiks quite so pencil-necked, but everyone wanted to believe that they were. Held's images reassured their delusions.³⁷⁶

Old Gold's use of Held's creative abilities helped the brand resonate with a college audience during the 1920s. The Old Gold campaign's humor does indeed make fun of the "Gay Nineties." The creative strategy is primarily social because it reinforces the idea that smoking cigarettes is a modern way to distinguish one self from the previous generation (see Figures 30 and 31).

Old Gold concluded the decade with advertisements that promoted an Old Gold premium that was being offered with the purchase of Old Gold cigarettes (see Figure 32). The premium is an Old Gold velour cigarette box. This advertising approach combines a rational strategy with reward tactics. Again, from the advertisement itself and the design of the cigarette box, it seems that Old Gold is targeting female smokers.

Summary:

During the 1920s cigarette advertising in the *Orange and White* increased in its frequency and in the number of brands being advertised. In addition to increasing in its regularity, cigarette advertising also became more sophisticated in its message appeals. By the end of the decade, advertisements were using complex social strategies that associated cigarette smoking with high social status and helped to make smoking more socially acceptable for women. Cigarette advertising also seemed to reflect the progressive attitudes and optimism of the time period. Smoking seemed to be a way to celebrate the financial

³⁷⁶ Jim Vadeboncoeur, Jr. "John Held Jr." *BPIB* <http://www.bpiib.com/illustrat/johnheld.html#navigate> [Retrieved April 15, 2007]

prosperity and innovation of the 1920s. Although the advertisements clearly targeted the college-aged audience, relatively few advertisements used college students.

Cigarette Advertising in the *Orange and White* the 1930s:

By the 1930s, cigarette smoking had become a very popular habit among college students. In addition, cigarette smoking was socially acceptable for both genders on college campuses. Therefore the college market was an important target audience for cigarette advertising. Advertising frequency steadily increased into the 1930s. Cigarette advertising in the *Orange and White* more than doubled. During the 1920s, 244 cigarette advertisements ran in the newspaper. During the 1930s, 613 cigarette advertisements ran in the 403 editions of the newspaper that were published from the 1930-1931 academic year to the 1939-1940 academic year. Although the increase in the number of advertisements is large, the advertising frequency per edition did not change as much as one might guess. For instance, during the 1920s an average of .82 advertisements ran in each edition of the *Orange and White*. By the 1930s the average increased to 1.52 advertisements per edition. Although this increase is significant, it is smaller than one might have thought because the *Orange and White* changed from a weekly to a bi-weekly.

In addition to the change in advertising frequency, the 1930s began with a change in the basic approach that cigarette advertisers used. More advertisements were using a sensory strategy instead of a social strategy perhaps because public opinion of cigarette smoking had changed. In addition, cigarette smoking was depicted as a glamorous and sophisticated habit that was embraced by both celebrities and socialites.

From the 1930-1931 academic year to the 1939-1940 academic year about half of the 613 cigarette advertisements that ran in the *Orange and White* promoted Chesterfield cigarettes. Camel maintained a regular advertising frequency with 174 advertisements. And,

Lucky Strike began to print regular advertisements in the *Orange and White*. On the other hand, Old Gold's numbers remained quite low when compared to the other brands (see Figures 33 and 34).

During the 1930s, the sensory strategy dominated creative strategy with 251 advertisements or 41% of the total advertising using this approach. The sensory strategy was the prominent approach in the 1930-1931, 1935-1936, 1936-1937, 1937-1938, 1938-1940 and 1939-1940 academic years. Although the sensory approach was the most frequently used approach, the social strategy was not far behind with 234 advertisements or 38% of the total advertising. In fact, the social strategy dominated from 1931 to 1934. A large number of advertisements, 20% of the total or 123 advertisements, used a rational approach. The ego strategy was the least frequently used with only 1% or 6 advertisements falling into this category (see Figures 35 and 36).

Although the social strategy no longer dominated cigarette advertising in the *Orange and White*, from a tactical perspective, the use of a socially desirable referent or celebrity was prevalent; for instance, 71% or 435 advertisements used this type of approach. An informational approach was fairly common; this approach was used in 74 advertisements or 12% of the total. Using a reward tactic was also used occasionally; 61 advertisements or 10% of the ads employed this tactical approach. Relatively few advertisements endeavored to entertain their audience. Only 4% or 25 advertisements used this approach. Few advertisements used humor to sell their product. Just 2% or 12 advertisements used this tactic. Using an expert was even more rare with only 1% of the total or 6 advertisements using this approach (see Figures 37 and 38).

Advertisements published in the *Orange and White* During the 1930s:

Camel:

During the 1930-1931 academic year, Camel advertised its new “humidor” packaging. The term “humidor” refers to a special airtight container that was normally used to keep cigars moist. As cigars are typically thought of as being the premier or high-end tobacco product, the use of the term humidor implies quality. Therefore, the primary strategy that is used in this campaign is a rational strategy that is supplemented by informational appeal. The sensory strategy is also present in this advertisement. The goal of the special “humidor” packaging is to preserve the freshness of the tobacco and to enhance the taste. To support this message, the copy reads, “Smoke a fresh cigarette” (see Figure 39).

In addition to promoting Camels by informing the public about their superior quality, R.J. Reynolds also financed contests that rewarded consumers for smoking Camel cigarettes. For instance, the Camel advertisements publicize the fact that Camel cigarettes awarded \$50,000.00 in the past year (see Figure 40).

The following academic year Camel used a sensory strategy. The headline reads, “Man! They’ve hit it *this* time!” The image reinforces the sensory strategy by showing a man smoking a cigarette. The idea of freshness and quality is also mentioned in the text (see Figure 41).

During the 1933-1934 academic year Camel cigarettes ran a campaign that explained the trickery involved in various illusions and magic acts. The advertisement makes the connection that smokers should likewise resist being tricked by tobacco products that do not adhere to the same standards as Camel. Thus, Camel uses a rational strategy to try to persuade students to smoke the Camel brand. However, the tactics used in the advertisement entertain the audience member by revealing the secrets to various magic acts. In the advertisement provided, Camel provides the reader with the secrets behind the famous magician Harry Houdini’s Milk Can Escape (see Figure 42). Other tricks that were revealed

included Hardeen's packing case escape,³⁷⁷ the Japanese thumb tie illusion,³⁷⁸ and the cut rope made whole again trick.³⁷⁹

The following academic year, Camel switched to a sensory campaign. In this series of advertisements cigarettes are prescribed as a remedy to various nervous habits. Through these ads, cigarettes are recommended as a way to counteract negative or undesirable sensations. This advertisement seems to be targeted very directly at college students that may be experiencing stress (see Figure 43). In addition to mussing hair, Camel claims to alleviate other habits such as newspaper crackling,³⁸⁰ doodling,³⁸¹ forehead wrinkling,³⁸² and hair mussing.³⁸³

Instead of prescribing Camels for nerves, this advertising campaign promotes tobacco as a stimulant stating, "After Concentrating...Get A Lift with a Camel." Again, Camel uses a rational strategy by promoting the product benefits. The use of a biology student's testimonial provides referent tactics that help to reinforce the rational strategy. Like the other advertisements, this advertisement also uses a sensory strategy as a secondary persuasive approach (see Figure 44). This campaign includes students from a variety of majors including pre-med,³⁸⁴ law,³⁸⁵ architecture,³⁸⁶ and history.³⁸⁷ In addition to featuring students in various majors, it also featured people pursuing various career paths such as pilots, rodeo riders, engineers, firemen, and explorers.³⁸⁸

³⁷⁷ *Orange and White*, April 13, 1933

³⁷⁸ *Orange and White*, April 25, 1933

³⁷⁹ *Orange and White*, May 9, 1933

³⁸⁰ *Orange and White*, April 6, 1934

³⁸¹ *Orange and White*, March 9, 1934

³⁸² *Orange and White*, September 26, 1934

³⁸³ *Orange and White*, February 9, 1934

³⁸⁴ *Orange and White*, May 3, 1935

³⁸⁵ *Orange and White*, September 26, 1934

³⁸⁶ *Orange and White*, February 13, 1935

³⁸⁷ *Orange and White*, March 29, 1935

³⁸⁸ *Orange and White*, April 16, 1935

Camel continued to target college students by offering cash incentives for smoking its brand. Camel also invites college students to try to smoke a pack of Camels and if they are not satisfied they can return it for a cash rebate. This rational advertising strategy is combined with referent tactics. The young woman in the advertisement promoting the offer looks very much like a typical college student (see Figure 45).

In addition to college students, Camel also used athletes to promote its cigarettes. However, in spite of the change in spokesperson, the strategy remained the same. Both campaigns use a rational approach to persuasion. In this case professional athletes attest that Camels “Don’t get your Wind” or impede your athletic performance. This particular advertisement featured Lou Gehrig’s testimonial and images of Betty Bailey, a champion diver, George Barker, a track star, Bruce Barnes, tennis champion, and champion golfer, Tommy Armour (see Figure 46).

From 1937 to 1940 Camel continued promoting the fact that Camel cigarettes “never get on your nerves.” Each of the advertisements used a sensory strategy that described the medicinal properties of Camel and used the testimonials of various celebrities and athletes to support this claim (see Figure 47).

Chesterfield:

In 1930 Chesterfield used a purely sensory strategy. The headline states, “milder and better taste.” The text follows, “‘Promises fill no sack’ – it is TASTE and not words you enjoy in a smoke.” The purely sensory approach is complemented by the image of a burning cigarette (see Figure 48).

Chesterfield changed its strategy from a sensory to a rational strategy in January of 1931. Chesterfield’s rational strategy compares the rationale required to select a cigarette brand with the strategies used to figure out puzzles or optical illusions. Therefore, the

objective of the advertisement is to communicate the idea that the taste or quality of a cigarette is easy to determine. So, it should be easy to determine that Chesterfield is the superior brand (see Figure 49).

In addition to using product features such as taste and quality to promote its brand, Chesterfield also used the fact that it used Turkish tobacco to sell cigarettes. An advertising headline reads, "Let's all go to Turkey." The mention of exotic Eastern locations such as Cavalla, Smyrna and Samsoun as suppliers of their tobacco adds to the allure of cigarette smoking. The familiar image of the Hagia Sophia, a monument that is widely associated with travel to Turkey, also adds to the exotic feel of the advertisement. Therefore the major strategies at play in this advertisement are rational and ego related. The use of information is the primary persuasive appeal (see Figure 50).

Chesterfield changed its strategy again during the 1931-1932 academic year. Instead of focusing on the product itself, the advertising centers on the greater social context or meaning of the product. For instance, one major theme is that the smoking habit is universally accepted - even stodgy grandfathers. However, societal acceptance of cigarette smoking is dependant upon smoking the right brand of cigarettes (see Figure 51).

For the 1932-1933 academic year, Chesterfield used a more sophisticated approach for advertising cigarettes. The primary strategy in this advertisement is social. The women in the advertisement seductively inquires, "Tell me something...what makes a cigarette taste better?" Presumably, she is speaking to a male smoker who is ready and willing to answer her request. In addition to the primary social strategy, a sensory approach is also being used through the implication that Chesterfields are the best tasting cigarettes (see Figure 52).

Cigarette manufacturers also used advertising to promote the radio programming that they sponsored. The performers that were used in the programming also used as

spokespeople for the particular cigarette brand. This particular promotional advertisement was printed in a 1934 edition of the *Orange and White* (see Figure 53).

Chesterfield used a social strategy to promote its brand during the 1934-1935 academic year. Again, Chesterfield uses a social strategy to imply that the approval of others depends upon smoking its brand. For instance, the Justice of the Peace agrees to marry the young couple because they smoke Chesterfields (see Figure 54).

During the 1935-1936 academic year Chesterfield changed from a social to a sensory strategy. The text reads, "I wouldn't give that for a cigarette that doesn't Satisfy...that doesn't give me what I want in a smoke." However, an element of peer approval is also present. The use of a similar source reinforces the social aspects of smoking (see Figure 55).

Like the John Held Jr. advertisements, Chesterfield advertisements poked fun at college students' grandparents' generation. In this appeal that combines a social approach with humor tactics, two elderly women smoke Chesterfields. The headline reads, "I'm not saying a word." Smoking is shown to be a slightly taboo habit that is appealing even to elderly women. This advertisement ran during the 1936-1937 academic year (see Figure 56).

During the 1937-1938 academic year, Chesterfield continued to use a social strategy by focusing on occasions where one should smoke. One use occasion advertisement reads, "First a handshake...then 'Have a Chesterfield.'" Therefore, this social strategy also includes elements from the routine segment of the strategy wheel (see Figure 57).

Chesterfield used sensory strategy during the 1938-1939 academic year. In addition to advertising that Chesterfield gives smokers more pleasure, the advertisement also promoted local radio programming sponsored by Chesterfield (see Figure 58).

During the 1939-1940 academic year, Chesterfield combined a social strategy with celebrity tactics. In this advertisement, Chesterfield claims to be the most popular brand of

cigarettes in the United States. A comparison is made between America's choice in a beauty queen and its choice in cigarette (see Figure 59).

Lucky Strike:

Lucky strike first advertised in the *Orange and White* on October 13, 1931. The primary message strategy is rational and centers on product information. For instance, the primary focus of the advertisement is on the moisture-proof cellophane packaging. Like the Camel advertisements, Lucky Strike compares its packaging to a humidor (see Figure 60).

In addition to the Lucky Tab advertisement, Lucky Strike also used Jean Harlow's celebrity endorsement tactics to promote its product. In addition, the advertisement promotes Jean Harlow and her films (see Figure 61). In addition to Jean Harlow, the campaign used other female celebrities such as Aviatrix Sally Eilers³⁸⁹ and actress Dorothy Mackaill.³⁹⁰ Each of the endorsements included a statement that the celebrity was not compensated for her testimonial and that Lucky Strike actually is her cigarette of choice. Although the execution of the advertisement is different, the rational strategy remains the same. However, the rational strategy is combined with a sensory strategy. Lucky Strike tastes good because of its packaging.

During the 1932-1933 academic year, Lucky Strike used a sensory strategy in its campaign. By using wild animals and Native Americans or other exotic people, Lucky Strike compared uncured tobacco to uncivilized animals or humans by stating, "Nature in the Raw is seldom Mild" (see Figure 62).

Lucky Strike changed from a sensory to a social strategy during the 1933-1934 academic year. This campaign focuses its attention on women by featuring a fashionable

³⁸⁹ *Orange and White*, November 6, 1931

³⁹⁰ *Orange and White*, October 22, 1931

young woman. However the headline that reads, “The Height of Good Taste” suggests both a social and sensory strategy. Therefore, the advertisement suggests that women should smoke because it is pleasurable and communicates high social status (see Figure 63).

Again, during the 1934-1935 academic year, Lucky Strike combined sensory and social strategies. However, instead of capturing a purely aspirational lifestyle, the advertisement focuses on idealizing the ordinary. This makes the promises suggested in the advertisement much more attainable than in the previous campaign (see Figure 64).

During the 1934-1935 academic year, Lucky Strike continued to use a social strategy. However, this time the strategy appears to be used within the context of a dating situation instead of a social context. The advertisement also uses a referent strategy playing upon the fact that many people have had disagreements with their significant others and have been at a loss when considering what to do. Therefore, smoking is promoted as a way to make amends (see Figure 65).

During the 1936-1937 academic year Lucky Strike used celebrity testimonials to attest to the fact that Lucky Strike cigarettes are easy on the throat. For instance, Margaret Sullivan said that “Luckies are the answer for her throat.” In addition, the campaign included celebrities such as actress Claudette Colbert,³⁹¹ actress Carole Lombard,³⁹² actor Cary Grant,³⁹³ U.S. Senator Gerald P. Nye,³⁹⁴ and radioman Boake Carter.³⁹⁵ This campaign combines a sensory strategy with a celebrity appeal (see Figure 66).

Old Gold:

³⁹¹ *Orange and White*, February 4, 1937

³⁹² *Orange and White*, March 5, 1937

³⁹³ *Orange and White*, February 26, 1937

³⁹⁴ *Orange and White*, February 18, 1937

³⁹⁵ *Orange and White*, March 26, 1937

Old Gold's strategy focused on keeping kissable. This advertisement uses a sensory strategy and a referent approach to suggest that Old Gold cigarettes are not as offensive as other cigarettes and will not diminish your attractiveness. The woman featured in the advertisement looks to be college-aged so her appearance would resonate well with students (see Figure 67).

Later during the 1934-1935 academic year, Old Gold maintains the same sensory strategy that it used during the 1932-1933 academic year. However, the present advertisement focuses on throat ease instead of "keeping kissable." In addition, the tactics changed from using a referent to a celebrity appeal. For instance singer and actor Bing Crosby said, "My throat is my fortune...that's why I smoke Old Gold's" (see Figure 68). Old Gold also featured other celebrities such as actress Mae West,³⁹⁶ actor James Cagney,³⁹⁷ actress Claudette Colbert,³⁹⁸ and actress Carole Lombard.³⁹⁹

Summary:

In spite of the Great Depression and the increased stress and pessimism that the economic downturn caused, cigarette advertising in the *Orange and White* continued to increase in frequency and size. In some ways, cigarettes seemed to provide the same kind of escape as the movie industry provided. In fact, the tobacco industry recruited many top film stars in its advertising campaigns during the 1930s. In addition to film stars, cigarette advertising also started to position cigarettes as a way to start one's career path. The industry maintained its efforts to target women by depicting women of high social standing in its advertisements and by demonstrating social approval through advertising. In addition, the

³⁹⁶ *Orange and White*, October 12, 1934

³⁹⁷ *Orange and White*, October 19, 1934

³⁹⁸ *Orange and White*, October 26, 1934

³⁹⁹ *Orange and White*, November 23, 1934

advertisements began to promote the habit as a way to manage stress and relax. R.J.

Reynolds Camel brand used very targeted advertisements that used college students to promote the effectiveness of its brand. Although the number of advertisements featuring college students and targeting the college audience increased, the majority of the brands simply targeted young people and were not specifically aimed toward the college audience.

Cigarette Advertising in *The Orange and White* during the 1940s:

Cigarette advertising in *The Orange and White*⁴⁰⁰ during the 1940s was very sporadic because of the outbreak of the World War II. Because the nation was at war, many of the advertisements made cigarette smoking seem patriotic. In fact, many used the testimonies of servicemen and women to promote their product. From the 1940-1941 academic year to the 1949-1950 academic year *The Orange and White* published 500 editions. A total of 346 cigarette advertisements appeared in the 500 editions published, averaging .69 cigarette advertisements per newspaper.

Although the number of cigarette advertisements dropped during the 1940s, the number of brands being advertised increased. In addition to Chesterfield, Camel, Old Gold and Lucky Strike, Phillip Morris, and Raleigh also advertised during the 1940s. As the graphs show, Chesterfield and Camel were the most advertised cigarette brands and Old Gold and Lucky Strike were the least advertised brands in the in *The Orange and White* during the 1940s. Chesterfield and Camel were the most heavily advertised brands from the 1940-1941 to the 1942-1943 academic years (see Figures 69 and 70). However, due to the war effort, advertising either stopped completely or nearly stopped from the 1943-1944 to the 1945-1946 academic year. In addition, the editorial content published in *The Orange and White* also was significantly decreased. Cigarette advertising in *The Orange and White* made a healthy

⁴⁰⁰ The name of the student newspaper at the University of Tennessee changed from *Orange and White* to *The Orange and White* in 1940.

comeback from the 1946-1947 to the 1948-1949 academic year. However, cigarette advertising dropped in 1949 for an unknown reason.

During the 1940s, the sensory strategy dominated cigarette advertising in *The Orange and White* with 59% of all advertisements using a sensory approach. The social strategy was the second most common with 27% of the advertisements falling into this category. The third most often used strategy was the rational approach with 12% of all advertisements using reason to reach consumers. During the 1940s, ego, acute need, and routine strategies were not widely used in cigarette advertisements (see Figures 71 and 72).

Overall, tactics using celebrities were the most popular advertising approach during the 1940s; 47% of the cigarette advertisements in *The Orange and White* used celebrity tactics. The referent approach was the second most popular tactic with 36% of the advertisements using this approach. Although the referent appeal was the most popular during the first half of the decade, celebrity appeals dominated the latter years during the 1940s. If combined, 83% of all the advertisements used an aspirational individual to promote cigarettes. The informational approach also was somewhat popular with 12% of advertising using information as the primary tactic. Few advertisements used reward, expert or humor tactics during the 1940s (see Figure 73 and 74).

Advertisements published in *The Orange and White* During the 1940s:

Camel:

During the 1940-1941 academic year, the first Camel campaign employed a social approach. The advertisements in this series focused on men who had succeeded in their particular career paths. In the advertisement shown (see Figure 75), an air traffic controller relates the keys to his career path and tips for picking a good cigarette. Therefore, cigarette smoking is implicitly positioned as a way to fit into the business world. Camel also uses

referent tactics. These tactics are made clear in the fact that the careers featured in the advertisements are both appealing and glamorous.

During the following year, Camel began to use rational strategy combined with a social strategy to promote its brand. Its advertisements combined celebrity with product information. Usually a celebrity spokesperson, in this case Evelyn Doman, promotes the virtues of smoking Camel cigarettes. The advertisement also promotes the fact that Camel cigarettes contain 28% less nicotine than the other four largest selling brands. Lower nicotine is promoted as a product benefit but the advertisement does not give the reader any reason why lower levels of nicotine are better (see Figure 76).

For the 1941-1942 academic year, Camel used the same approach by promoting the product using a spokesperson and product related information. However, because of the outbreak of WWII, the spokesperson was a member of the armed forces. It is important to note that this military based approach was used even before Pearl Harbor Day, which officially involved the United States in the war effort (see Figure 77).

Using the armed forces in Camel advertisements continued into 1942-1943 academic year. In this campaign, Camel used jargon or slang from the various branches of the armed forces to build rapport with its patriotic audience and establish the fact that its brand has a close relationship with the armed services. The headline reads, "In the Air Force they say – 'Dodo' for the new flying recruit, 'Kite' for airplane, 'hit the silk' for taking to parachute, 'Camel' for their favorite cigarette." Therefore, this social strategy is combined with the powerful referent appeal of a member of the Air Force. In addition to the Air Force, this advertising campaign featured servicemen from the other branches of the military such as the army and navy (see Figure 78).

After a three-year break, Camel resumed advertising in *The Orange and White* in 1947. The primary message in this series of advertisements was that, “More people are smoking Camels than ever before.” In addition to the social strategy implied in promoting the popularity of the cigarette, Beryl Davis⁴⁰¹ was the celebrity spokesperson for the brand. Big band singer Beryl Davis was born in England; the daughter of famous bandleader Harry Davis. Beryl Davis spent her formative years on tour with her father's orchestra, eventually becoming the act's featured vocalist. In 1944, Davis was recruited to join Glenn Miller's Army Air Force Orchestra (see Figure 79). Other featured musicians and singers included “Skitch” Henderson,⁴⁰² Patty Andrews,⁴⁰³ Al Nevins,⁴⁰⁴ and Desi Arnaz.⁴⁰⁵

During the 1948-1949 academic year Camel began to use a rational appeal in its college advertising. In this campaign, Camel urges students to give its cigarette a 30-day test for mildness. Although the primary appeal is a rational appeal, the secondary appeal is sensory because the smokers are testing the cigarette for mildness (see Figure 80).⁴⁰⁶

Chesterfield:

During the 1940-1941 academic year, Chesterfield created advertisements that focused on the social acceptability of smoking. Using a referent appeal, this advertisement features a woman conversing with her father about smoking. The headline reads, “Right Dad...it’s the one cigarette that really satisfies.” In addition to the referent appeal, the advertisement promotes the satisfaction that one gets from smoking (see Figure 81).

⁴⁰¹ *The Orange and White*, October 3, 1947

⁴⁰² *The Orange and White*, October 8, 1947

⁴⁰³ *The Orange and White*, October 15, 1947

⁴⁰⁴ *The Orange and White*, October 22, 1947

⁴⁰⁵ *The Orange and White*, October 29, 1947

⁴⁰⁶ *The Orange and White*, October 3, 1947

By the 1941-1942 academic year, the Chesterfield campaign strategy changed to a patriotic effort that supported World War II. The headline reads, “The Order of the Day is Chesterfield Milder, Cooler...Better-Tasting” (see Figure 82).

During the 1942-1943 academic year, Chesterfield advertised again using a patriotic appeal. However, this time the brand used an army medic to attest to the quality of Chesterfield brand cigarettes. This rational appeal combines the expertise of a physician with a product-focused argument (see Figure 83).

The following academic year, Chesterfield continued to use advertising that related to the war effort. In this advertisement, the social strategy implies that popular people, like Tailgun Smitty, smoke Chesterfields. And, if you want the service person that you care about to be popular like Tailgun Smitty you ought to send him plenty of Chesterfields. However, the advertisement also makes use of a sensory approach (see Figure 84).

During the 1945-1946 academic year, Chesterfield used a referent approach to promote its brand in *The Orange and White*. The beautiful woman featured in the advertisement promotes the ABC slogan that stands for, “Always Buy Chesterfields.” The headline implies brand loyalty and suggests a routine strategy (see Figure 85).

Chesterfield’s tactics changed during the 1947-1948 academic year. Instead of using a referent appeal, the tactics changed to a celebrity appeal. Although the celebrity, Lauren Bacall, is the primary feature in the advertisement, the strategy is based in the sensory segment because the focus is on enjoyment that smoking cigarettes provides. In addition to promoting Chesterfield, the advertisement also mentions that Lauren Bacall will be starring

in the film “Dark Passage.” Other featured celebrities included actor James Stewart⁴⁰⁷, actress Loretta Young,⁴⁰⁸ actress Claudette Colbert,⁴⁰⁹ and actor Ronald Regan⁴¹⁰ (see Figure 86).

Chesterfield returned to the routine strategy during the 1948-1949 academic year by using the ABC “Always Buy Chesterfield” slogan. However, Chesterfield combined the ABC slogan with a celebrity appeal. As in the previous campaign, the spokesperson, in this case Rita Hayworth, is promoting her new film “The Loves of Carmen.” In addition to Rita Hayworth’s testimonial, Chesterfield includes the testimonial of a college student from the University of Colorado (see Figure 87). In addition to Rita Hayworth, Chesterfield advertisements also included actress Betty Grable,⁴¹¹ singer Perry Como,⁴¹² actress Jane Wyman,⁴¹³ and actor Gary Cooper.⁴¹⁴

Phillip Morris:

In its college campaign for the 1943-1944 academic year, Phillip Morris featured Johnny Roventini, the famous Phillip Morris bellboy. Alfred E. Lyon, Philip Morris' Vice President for Sales, and Milton Biow, the famous president of the Milton Biow advertising who managed the Philip Morris Inc. account discovered Johnny Roventini in the Hotel New Yorker lobby during an April evening in 1933. Johnny Roventini served as one of the Hotel New Yorker’s corporate images. The Hotel New Yorker had been featuring the Brooklyn born, 48-inch youngster on its souvenir post cards as "the smallest bellboy in the world." The corporate executives along with their bellhop were to take a little-known cigarette brand

⁴⁰⁷ *The Orange and White*, December 10, 1947

⁴⁰⁸ *The Orange and White*, January 14, 1948

⁴⁰⁹ *The Orange and White*, February 20, 1948

⁴¹⁰ *The Orange and White*, January 16, 1948

⁴¹¹ *The Orange and White*, December 1, 1948

⁴¹² *The Orange and White*, November 19, 1948

⁴¹³ *The Orange and White*, October 22, 1948

⁴¹⁴ *The Orange and White*, October 27, 1948

and move it to number four in national sales in five years time.⁴¹⁵ Therefore, to *The Orange and White* audience, the Phillip Morris bellhop was a well-known figure. Therefore, this advertisement combines a sensory strategy with celebrity tactics (see Figure 88).

Johnny Roventini reappeared during the 1948-1949 Phillip Morris campaign. In this series of advertisements, Roventini is featured in his own comic strip called “Campus Capers” that targeted college students. The comic strip is a social drama where Phillip Morris cigarettes save the day by eliminating cigarette hangover and by building students’ vocabularies. The overall strategy is social but the tactic is entertaining college students.⁴¹⁶

Old Gold:

Old Gold advertised only during the 1946-1947 academic year. The campaign was designed with simplicity in mind. The Lorillard Tobacco Company wants to emphasize the fact that they are tobacco men and that the only thing that they attest about their product is that it is made for enjoyment. This advertisement works almost exclusively on a sensory level (see Figure 89).

Raleigh:

Like Old Gold, Raleigh only advertised in *The Orange and White* for one year. During the 1947-1948 academic year, Raleigh used a sensory strategy and celebrity tactics to sell their brand. In this advertisement, Tyrone Power, an American film actor who appeared in numerous of films from the 1930s to the 1950s, often as a swashbuckler or romantic lead, promoted the brand. The primary product feature that is promoted is the fact that the cigarette is moisturized to minimize throat irritation and increase enjoyment (see Figure 90).

⁴¹⁵ “Call for Phillip Morris!!!” <http://www.bellhop.org/johnnyhistory.htm> [Retrieved April 22, 2007]

⁴¹⁶ *The Orange and White*, October 8, 1948

Other celebrity spokespeople include actress Joan Crawford,⁴¹⁷ actor and decorated naval officer Douglas Fairbanks Jr.,⁴¹⁸ and actress Gene Tierney.⁴¹⁹

Summary:

Cigarette advertising in *The Orange and White* during the 1940s was influenced by the outbreak of the Second World War. World War Two influenced cigarette advertising in two ways: 1.) The frequency of advertising was reduced in the 1940s due to a shift in marketing efforts due to the war. 2.) The advertisements that were present in *The Orange and White* often used patriotic themes to promote cigarette smoking. In addition to the new marketing strategies instigated by the war, many of the advertisements used the same strategies and tactics as before. Common approaches included social approval, celebrity appeals, and rational strategies. Although throat irritation and coughing had been referred to before in advertisements, during the 1940s advertisements began to refer to the healthfulness of particular brands as well as nicotine content for the first time in *The Orange and White*.

Cigarette Advertising in *The Orange and White* during the 1950s:

The 1950s was the decade with the largest number of cigarette advertisements. A total of 966 cigarette advertisements appeared in 355 editions of *The Orange and White*. On average, 2.72 advertisements appeared in the newspaper. *The Orange and White* was published both weekly and bi-weekly. The paper was published bi-weekly during the 1950-1951 and the 1951-1952 academic years. The paper was published weekly from the 1952-1953 to the 1959-1960 academic year. A number of factors influenced the large number of advertisements in the newspaper. In general, cigarette smoking was a socially acceptable habit during the 1950s. In addition, new brands and varieties of cigarettes were introduced into the cigarette

⁴¹⁷ *The Orange and White*, February 12, 1947

⁴¹⁸ *The Orange and White*, January 24, 1947

⁴¹⁹ *The Orange and White*, February 26, 1947

market. For instance, several new filter brands and menthol-flavored cigarettes were created during this time period.

From the 1950-1951 academic year to the 1954-1955 academic year, unfiltered cigarettes were the most popular product advertised. Starting with the 1955-1956 academic year and ending with the 1958-1959 academic year, filtered and unfiltered cigarettes advertised with a similar frequency. However, cigarette advertising in general began to dip from 1955-1956 academic year to the 1957-1958 academic year. By the 1959-1960 academic year, the frequency of filtered cigarette advertising surpassed the pre-1955-1956 levels for advertising unfiltered cigarettes. Menthol cigarette advertising fell behind both the filtered and unfiltered brands. But, during the 1959-1960 academic year the frequency of advertising among the menthol brands surpassed that of the unfiltered brands (see Figure 91).

In total, 552 of the 966 cigarette advertisements promoted unfiltered brands. Unfiltered cigarette advertisements represented 57% of the total cigarette advertisements that appeared in *The Orange and White*. Lucky Strike was consistently the most frequent advertiser with 221 advertisements. Camel and Chesterfield also were major advertisers with over 100 advertisements each. Phillip Morris, Old Gold and Pall Mall also advertised in *The Orange and White*. And, although they were not consistent advertisers, they did have a significant presence during certain years. For instance, Pall Mall was the most frequent advertiser in the unfiltered segment during the 1958-1959 academic year. But, it did not advertise in *The Orange and White* from the 1950-1951 to the 1957-1958 academic year (see Figures 92 and 93).

During the 1950s, 255 of the 966 advertisements printed in *The Orange and White* promoted filtered cigarettes. In total, 26% of the cigarette advertisements in *The Orange and White* related to filtered cigarettes. Filtered cigarette advertising steadily increased from the

1952-1953 academic year to the 1955-1956 academic year. Cigarette advertising dropped during the 1956-1957 and the 1957-1958 academic years. However, the advertising frequency resumed during the 1958-1959 and the 1959-1960 academic years. With a total of 77 advertisements, Tareyton was the most frequently advertised brand. Viceroy's advertising rates were nearly the same as Tareyton with a total of 75 advertisements. Marlboro, Winston, and L&M also were frequent advertisers with over 55 advertisements each (see Figure 94 and 95).

Three primary strategies dominated the cigarette advertising in *The Orange and White* during the 1950s. These three strategies were the rational, social, and sensory strategies. The sensory dominated with 50% of the advertising falling into this category. Although the sensory strategy dominated, it was the primary strategy during the 1950-1951, 1955-1956, 1956-1957, 1958-1959, and 1959-1960 academic year. However, the sensory and rational strategies also dominated creative strategies certain years. During the 1951-1952 and the 1952-1953 academic years the social approach dominated. Likewise, the rational approach dominated 1954-1955 academic year, which was the year after the *Reader's Digest* article was published warning the American public about the harms of smoking (see Figures 96 and 97).

During the 1950s, the referent tactic was the most popular in cigarette advertising in *The Orange and White* with 35% of the advertising falling into this category. The referent approach was the most prevalent approach during the 1950-1951, 1951-1952, 1952-1953, and the 1955-1956 academic year. The humor approach was the second most popular tactic with 32% of the advertising using this appeal. Although the humor approach was the second most popular appeal, it was the most frequent appeal during the 1953-1954, 1954-1955, 1956-1957, and the 1958-1959 academic year. Information was another tactic that was fairly prevalent with 18% of cigarette advertisements printed using this approach. In spite of the

fact that using entertainment was not one of the most popular tactics, it was the most popular appeal during the 1959-1960 academic year. Celebrity tactics and reward appeals were also occasionally employed (see Figures 98 and 99).

Unfiltered Brands Advertised During the 1950s:

Lucky Strike:

At the start of the 1950-1951 academic year, Lucky Strike advertised using a series of contests that would reach nearly every college campus in the U. S. In the first series of contests, Lucky Strike challenged students to write “Happy-Go-Lucky” jingles about Lucky Strike. Lucky Strike offered \$25.00 cash prizes for winning jingles. For instance, a winning entry from Brooklyn College reads, “In art class we may disagree, if Goya beats Van Dyke. But one thing is unanimous, We all pick Lucky Strike.” The campaign’s appeal is social because it reinforces the idea that cigarette smoking is popular among college students. Every edition of the *Orange and White* would feature winning jingle submissions from around the nation. The jingles are intended to be humorous and entertaining. The jingle contest ran until the 1954-1955 academic year (see Figures 100 and 101).

During the 1954-1955 academic year, Lucky Strike changed its contest from jingles to “doodles”. “Doodles” are humorous picture puzzles that should relate to smoking Lucky Strike. Like the previous contests, a \$25 dollar reward is offered for featured “doodles.” Again, the primary tactic that was used is humor. In the advertisement below, the sensory strategy dominates (see Figure 102). However, in other “doodle” advertisements, the strategy is social.

During the 1956-1957 and 1957-1958 academic years, Lucky Strike changed its contest from “Doodles” to “Sticklers.” “Sticklers” are jokes or riddles that rhyme. For instance, one example reads, “What do you call a dirty bird? ...a murky turkey.” Again the

goal of the contest is to show that Lucky Strike is a popular across college campuses. The humorous approach is used to entertain students (see Figure 104).

Camel:

Camel began a series of cartoons called “Campus Interviews on Cigarette Tests” during the 1950-1951 academic year. This humorous approach profiled various animals and proves that in spite of their idiosyncratic traits, they agree that Camel is the best cigarette. For instance, even though the “Long-Wattled Umbrella Bird” lacks the common sense to get out of the rain, he still knows that Camel is the best cigarette. The advertisement continues by stating that “More People Smoke Camels than any other cigarette!” and that students should give the brand a 30-day trial (see Figure 105). Therefore, this series of advertisements combines humor with a social strategy. This cartoon continued through the 1951-1952 academic year. Other featured cartoon characters included “The Blow Fish,”⁴²⁰ “The Flicker,”⁴²¹ and “The Common Loon.”⁴²²

In 1952, Camel changed from the “Campus Interviews on Cigarette Tests” cartoon to the “...But Only Time Will Tell” cartoon. The objective of the cartoon is to convince college students to try smoking and to give the habit time before they decide. For instance, the cartoon shows a fraternity house and fraternity brothers testing out a new cat to see if it is a good mouser. But, just because it doesn’t catch a mouse immediately doesn’t mean that it cannot catch mice. In the same way, students should give smoking a fair try. Camel provides a rational argument for trying smoking that is complemented with humor tactics (see Figure 106).

⁴²⁰ *The Orange and White*, October 4, 1950

⁴²¹ *The Orange and White*, October 11, 1950

⁴²² *The Orange and White*, October 18, 1950

During the following academic year, Camel advertised using a celebrity approach that used a social strategy. The campaign slogan was, “Camels Agree with More People” and focused on “How the stars got started.” In this particular advertisement, Dick Powell was the celebrity spokesperson. In addition to providing his testimonial on cigarettes, he also gives the story of how he got his start in the music industry by singing with a choral group at Little Rock College. Dick Powell was a famous singer, actor, and director (see Figure 107). Other Camel spokespeople included baseball player Mickey Mantle,⁴²³ actress Lisbeth Scott,⁴²⁴ actress Maureen O’Sullivan,⁴²⁵ actor Tyrone Power,⁴²⁶ and actor William Holden.⁴²⁷

The primary strategy of 1955-1956 Camel campaign is sensory. However, the advertisements also emphasize the idea that cigarettes are a way to celebrate special occasions and relax after a job well done. For example, the text in the advertisement provided reads, “When you’ve worked pretty late, And the issue looks great...Why not celebrate! Have a CAMEL!” (see Figure 108).

Camel continued to used a social approach during the 1956-1957 academic year. However, instead of addressing the pleasure of smoking directly, Camel promotes its cigarette as the “real cigarette.” The headline reads, “Have A Real Cigarette...have a Camel!” This headline, accompanied by a photograph of a documentary film cameraman implies that Camels are for real men (see Figure 109).

Camel ended the 1950s by returning to the cartoon approach that it used at the beginning of the decade. The cartoons used a humor appeal but the overriding strategy is

⁴²³ *The Orange and White*, September 24, 1953

⁴²⁴ *The Orange and White*, November 19, 1953

⁴²⁵ *The Orange and White*, December 3, 1953

⁴²⁶ *The Orange and White*, December 10, 1953

⁴²⁷ *The Orange and White*, January 28, 1953

sensory because both the caption of the cartoon and the headline relate to the product's quality and taste (Figure 110).

Chesterfield:

To start off the 1950s, Chesterfield used a cigarette-smoking test to appeal to college students on a rational level. The headline reads, "Open 'Em, Smell 'Em, Smoke 'Em – Easiest Test In The Book." Then, the student is challenged to compare Chesterfield with any other cigarette (see Figure 111).

During the 1951-1952 academic year, Chesterfield's advertisements featured various competitive and Ivy League universities to show that their brand is the most popular among the most accomplished college students. For instance, the advertisements featured Rice,⁴²⁸ Northwestern,⁴²⁹ Princeton,⁴³⁰ Cornell,⁴³¹ University of Virginia,⁴³² M.I.T.⁴³³ and many others. Because the advertisement focuses on the popularity of the brand and the fact that many college students, like themselves, smoke Chesterfield, the primary campaign strategy is social (see Figure 112).

As health concerns regarding smoking begin to surface in the popular press, Chesterfield changes its campaign strategy to a more rational approach during the 1952-1953 academic year. Therefore, Chesterfield presents its own scientific evidence that proves that the "Nose, Throat, and Accessory Organs" are not harmed by smoking Chesterfield. In addition, Chesterfield claims that its report is the first ever such report published about a cigarette. In fact, the report even claims that it studied heavy smokers that smoked up to 40 cigarettes a day (see Figure 113).

⁴²⁸ *The Orange and White*, November 7, 1951

⁴²⁹ *The Orange and White*, October 3, 1951

⁴³⁰ *The Orange and White*, October 24, 1951

⁴³¹ *The Orange and White*, October 31, 1951

⁴³² *The Orange and White*, October 17, 1951

⁴³³ *The Orange and White*, November 28, 1951

Like Camel, Chesterfield also used celebrity tactics during the 1953-1954 academic year. However, Chesterfield combined the appeal of a celebrity with ordinary college students. The appeal of the advertisement is primarily social as it shows Chesterfield to be a popular cigarette. In this particular situation, Ray Anthony is the celebrity. Anthony is an American songwriter, trumpeter, bandleader, and actor. He is known for “The Bunny Hop” and the “Hokey Pokey.” In addition, the advertisement features two female college students who also provide their testimonials (see Figure 114).

During the 1955-1956 academic year, Chesterfield changed its strategy from a social strategy to a sensory strategy. The headline reads, “Packs More Pleasure because it’s More Perfectly Packed!” The change in strategy is evident because of the focus on pleasure. Some of the tactics changed used to execute the strategy also changed. Instead of using celebrity or source similarity tactics, the Chesterfield advertisement used source attractiveness to promote its brand. The use of a sex appeal complements the use of an attractive source. Both the image of a beautiful model reclining with a cigarette and the tone of the copy seems more sexual in nature than previous advertisements (see Figure 115).

Like Camel’s campaign from the previous year, Chesterfield also tries to position its cigarette as the masculine cigarette. This advertisement reads, “Men of America: The Test-Driver. Nothing satisfies like the BIG CLEAN TASTE OF TOP-TOBACCO” (see Figure 116). Other featured professionals included a law enforcement officer,⁴³⁴ uranium geologist,⁴³⁵ highway architect,⁴³⁶ and a U.S. Air Force pilot.⁴³⁷ Although the tactics are based in a referent appeal and there are social elements of the advertisement, the primary strategy is

⁴³⁴ *The Orange and White*, November 7, 1958

⁴³⁵ *The Orange and White*, October 24, 1958

⁴³⁶ *The Orange and White*, October 17, 1958

⁴³⁷ *The Orange and White*, October 10, 1958

sensory because the product focus is on enjoying the tobacco. Chesterfield ran the “Men of America” campaign during the 1957-1958 and 1958-1959 academic years.

Phillip Morris:

Like Chesterfield, Phillip Morris started out its 1950-1951 college campaign with a rational appeal that challenged students to test Phillip Morris cigarettes. This particular advertisement features a woman and reads “Believe in Yourself! Don’t test one brand alone – compare them all!” This advertisement seems to work toward empowering women and would resonate with female college students for this reason. Like the other Phillip Morris advertisement, this advertisement includes the slogan “Call for Phillip Morris” and features the bellhop Johnny (see Figure 117).

In 1951, Phillip Morris changes from a rational strategy to a sensory strategy that focuses on celebrity testimonials. In this case, Desi Arnaz and Lucille Ball attest that Phillip Morris does not cause throat irritation. In addition to providing their testimonial, they also promote the new “I Love Lucy” show on CBS. Again, the bellhop Johnny and the slogan “Call for Phillip Morris” appear at the bottom of the advertisement.

From 1954-1957, Phillip Morris cigarettes sponsored the Max Shulman column. The column was created by Leo Burnett Company, Inc.⁴³⁸ Shulman was a 20th century American writer best known for his television and short story character Dobie Gillis. His writing usually centered on young people, particularly in the college setting. After his success with the Gillis character, Shulman continued to write. His humor column, “On Campus,” was syndicated in over 350 collegiate newspapers at one point. This particular column entitled, “Husbands, Anyone?” focuses on how coeds select their future husbands (see Figure 119).

⁴³⁸ Max Shulman, “Adventures in Social Science: No. 1” Ad. No. 144 – Req. No. 77198 – 2/3 page – 4 5/8 x10 in. December 15, 1958. Bates: 1002760575. <http://pmdocs.com/cgi-bin/research.asp> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

Old Gold:

During the 1956-1957 academic year, Old Gold resumed advertising in *The Orange and White*. Like Lucky Strike, Old Gold also used a contest. The contest was called Tangle Schools. The headline of the advertisement suggests a sensory approach by stating, “No Other Cigarette Can Match The Taste of Today’s Old Gold’s.” To enter the contest, students needed to untangle the names of well-known schools and send them in to the address listed on the advertisements. Therefore, because the advertisement involves a puzzle, entertainment is the primary tactic in this campaign (see Figure 120).

Pall Mall:

Pall Mall started advertising in *The Orange and White* during the 1958-1959 academic year. The strategy for the campaign was purely sensory. With the headline, “So friendly to your taste!”⁴³⁹ The campaign compares the experience of smoking cigarettes with eating fine foods such as various fruits and vegetables and shrimp. It’s obvious that the advertisement is capitalizing on the pleasure associated with smoking (see Figure 121).

Filtered Brands Advertised During the 1950s:

Winston:

Although sensory appeals are popular across cigarette brands, they are particularly popular among filtered brands. Filtered brands want to assure smokers that their brand provides the same flavor and their unfiltered counterparts. In addition to focusing on flavor, it appears from the photograph that smoking is being depicted as a way to start a relationship. Therefore, the advertisement also has strong social elements and uses a referent appeal (see Figure 122).

⁴³⁹ *The Orange and White*, October 31, 1958

Winston began using its famous “Winston Tastes Good! Like a Cigarette Should!” slogan during the 1955-1956 academic year. This advertisement’s primary strategy is a sensory strategy. The headline reads, “Winston brings you full flavor!” However, it also has significant social undertones. Again, smoking is shown as a way to start relationships, especially with members of the opposite sex (see Figure 123).

During the 1957-1958 academic year, Winston changed tactics from a referent approach that focuses on relationships to a humor approach that reinforced the overall sensory strategy. The campaign mimicked a comic strip with the characters ending the strip with the slogan, “Winston tastes good...like a cigarette should.” In one example that was a satire of Arthurian legend, Sir Gollyhad, a knight, befriended a dragon that terrorized the citizens of Camelot by offering the beast cigarettes. The dragon was satisfied and Sir Gollyhad wins the lady (see Figure 124). Other comics included “Mopy Dick,” a spoof on Herman Melville’s *Moby-Dick*,⁴⁴⁰ “In The Soup”⁴⁴¹ a parody of the antics of burglars, and a comic featuring the ghost “Luke the Spook.”⁴⁴²

L&M:

In addition to advertising the taste and pleasure that filtered cigarettes provided, some filtered cigarettes promoted the effectiveness of their filter. For instance, the L&M headline reads, “No filter compares with L&M’s Miracle Tip.” This focus on the filter properties implies a rational strategy. However, the advertisement also mentioned flavor in a subhead. Therefore, the sensory strategy is a secondary strategy in this advertisement. In addition, the advertisement used socialites and a businessman as a referent tactic to promote the brand (see Figure 125).

⁴⁴⁰ *The Orange and White*, January 31, 1958

⁴⁴¹ *The Orange and White*, October 4, 1957

⁴⁴² *The Orange and White*, November 8, 1957

L&M launched a similar campaign the following year. The focus remained on the cigarette filter and the strategy remained rational. However, the photograph and text related more directly to the college audience. The photograph used a similarity-based referent appeal as the man and the woman appear to be interacting or starting a conversation thanks to their mutual smoking habit (see Figure 126).

L&M continued to use the same social and referent approach during the 1957-1958 academic year. However, the focus is on the flavor. But, the similar referent approach remained the same. The college students in the advertisement say that L&M, “Smokes Cleaner” and “Tastes Better” (see Figure 127).

Viceroy:

Viceroy combines a rational and sensory strategy. In this advertisement, the taste of the cigarette and the construction of the filter are important components but it seems that the construction of the filter and the reasoning behind the smoothness of the taste are paramount. This advertisement also appears to be directed at college students. The headline reads, “On Every Campus College Men and Women are discussing why Viceroy’s are Smoother” (see Figure 128).

During the 1958-1959 academic year, Viceroy continues to use a rational strategy to advertise the effectiveness and healthfulness of its filter by stating that, “The Viceroy Filter Is Made From A Pure Natural Material Found In Fruit” (see Figure 129).

Tareyton:

During the 1955-1956 academic year, Tareyton, American Tobacco Company’s filtered brand, started to advertise its filtered brand. Like other filtered brands, Tareyton advertises the fact that “All the pleasure comes thru...The Taste is great!” in its headline. Therefore, the sensory strategy is the dominant strategy. However, the advertisement also

mentions the fact that the cigarette has a dual filter. The description of the double filter seems to suggest a more rational approach is also in play (see Figure 130).

As in the previous campaign, Tareyton used a sensory strategy. The headline reads, “Gives you more to enjoy – the taste is great! And, the advertisement, like the other filtered brands, shows smoking as a way to facilitate relationships. However, the effectiveness of the filter remained as a rational element of the advertising strategy (see Figure 131).

In a campaign that ran during the 1959-1960 and 1960-1961 academic years, Tareyton used a rational strategy to explain how its dual filter works. The advertisement shows the two layers that filter the cigarette smoke and the band that shows the division between the two separate filters. The sensory strategy is secondary as the advertisement focused on the filters filtering for flavor (see Figure 132).

Marlboro:

Phillip Morris began advertising its filtered brand, Marlboro, during the 1955-1956 academic year. Marlboro’s functional slogan, “You get a lot to like – filter, flavor, flip-top box” suggests a rational approach. Yet, the image in the advertisement portrayed a rugged looking man with a tattoo on his hand lending the brand a rather hardened or rebellious image. This advertisement seems to imply that this filtered brand is not a brand for sissies (see Figure 133).

During the 1957-1958 academic year, Phillip Morris Co. decided to change its sponsor of the “On Campus” column from its unfiltered Phillip Morris brand to its filtered Marlboro brand. In spite of the change in brand, the column remained the same. Max Shulman continued to make humorous observations about campus life. In this particular example, Max Shulman discusses Christmas shopping and provides gift ideas for college

students. Of course, Shulman recommends Phillip Morris brand cigarettes as gift ideas (see Figure 134).

Menthol Brands Advertised During the 1950s:

Two Menthol brands were advertised in *The Orange and White* during the 1950s, Kool and Salem. Salem advertised during the 1957-1958 academic year. The primary strategy in this advertisement is sensory. The headline reads, “A new idea in smoking...Salem refreshes your taste.” In addition, the brand advertised the social aspect of smoking through the use of a referent appeal. The photograph in the advertisement depicts a young couple smoking in a park (see Figure 135).

Kool advertised using the same sensory strategy as Salem during the 1958-1959 and 1959-1960 academic year, but using a different tactical approach. The headline reads, “Switch from the Hots to Snow Fresh Filter Kools.” But, the Kool Krossword puzzle occupies the majority of the advertising space. Therefore, the entertainment tactic is a significant part of the advertisement (see Figure 136).

Summary:

The 1950s was marked by innovations both in the cigarettes themselves and the techniques used to market the new brands. During the 1950s, more brands targeted college students more directly in their advertising. Lucky Strike, Camel, Chesterfield, Tareyton, Winston, Kool, Old Gold, L&M and Viceroy all created advertisements that directly target a collegiate audience. Relating directly to college students became more popular than celebrity and status appeals that were popular in the past. However, relating cigarette smoking to career success remained a popular approach. The primary innovations in cigarette production were the introduction of menthol and filtered cigarettes, which resulted in the introduction of many new brands. Filtered cigarettes initially used a rational approach to

market their brands by focusing on the healthfulness of the brand and the effectiveness of the filter. However, by the end of the decade, the rational approach to promoting the filtered brands was replaced by social and sensory strategies. Menthol cigarettes consistently used a sensory strategy to promote the menthol flavor.

Cigarette Advertising in *The Orange and White* from 1960 to 1964:

From 1960 to 1963, 182 editions of *The Orange and White* were published. During these three years, 390 cigarette advertisements were printed averaging 2.14 in each edition of *The Orange and White*. This number is less than the average of 2.72 cigarette advertisements published during the 1950s. However, only nine advertisements, all advertorials sponsored by Marlboro, were published during the 1963-1964 academic year. And, each of the nine advertisements were published before January of 1964. If only the academic years that span 1960-1961 to 1962-1963 are counted, the average number of cigarette advertisements published during this time period surpasses the 1950s average at 2.93 advertisements printed in each edition of *The Orange and White*.

During the early 1960s, for the first time, filtered cigarettes consistently surpass unfiltered cigarettes in the number of advertisements published in *The Orange and White*. In fact, filtered cigarette advertising reached its peak during the 1962-1963 academic year when 102 advertisements for filtered cigarettes were published. The frequency for advertising that related to menthol cigarettes generally dropped during the early 1960s. However, menthol cigarettes were never a primary category of cigarette advertising in *The Orange and White* (see Figure 137).

During the early 1960s, Chesterfield was the most frequently advertised unfiltered cigarette brand with a total of 46 cigarette advertisements printed in *The Orange and White*. Chesterfield was the dominant unfiltered brand during the 1961-1962 and the 1962-1963

academic years. Lucky Strike was a close second with a total of 45 cigarette advertisements. Lucky Strike was the prominent unfiltered brand in 1960-1961 academic year. Camel was the third most frequent advertiser with a total of 18 advertisements. Old Gold and Pall Mall also advertised in *The Orange and White* but their advertising was relatively infrequent (see Figures 138 and 139).

During the early 1960s, the filtered cigarettes were dominant. The prominent brand of filtered cigarettes advertised was Marlboro with 77 advertisements published in *The Orange and White*. And, Marlboro was the most popular brand advertised from the 1960-1961 academic year to the 1962-1963 academic year. The second most frequent advertiser was Tareyton with a total of 48 advertisements. L&M was the third most frequent advertiser with 46 advertisements printed in *The Orange and White* (see Figures 140 and 141).

The dominant creative strategy during the early 1960s was a social strategy with 49% of the cigarette advertisements in *The Orange and White* using this approach. The second most popular strategy was the sensory strategy with 42% of the advertisements falling into this category. The final strategy used, the rational strategy, was used in 9% of advertisements (see Figures 142 and 143).

During the 1960s, the humor approach was the most popular tactic used by cigarette advertisers with 47% of advertisements printed in *The Orange and White* employing this tactic. This tactic led in popularity with 47% of the advertisements falling into this category. The second most prevalent approach was the referent tactic with 32% of advertisements falling into this category. The tactics of entertainment, reward, and information were used between 5% and 10% of appeals falling into this category (see Figures 144 and 145).

Unfiltered Brands Advertised During the 1960s:

Camel:

At the start of the 1960s, Camel continued to promote its brand as a masculine cigarette. This approach combined a sensory and social approach. Again, the brand's positioning is social. The referent in this particular advertisement is named Don Pinder and he is a professional skin diver. The use of this athletic man as a referent reinforces the brand's masculine image. However, the headline reads, "Have a real cigarette – have a Camel." This statement implies that Camel is stronger or better than other brands. Further, Pinder is pictured enjoying his cigarette. Other advertisements featured athletes,⁴⁴³ sailplane enthusiasts,⁴⁴⁴ and a helicopter pilot⁴⁴⁵ (see Figure 146).

Camel continued its campaign to position its brand as a masculine cigarette. This series of advertisements is called "Career Clues." It features high-level executives who give their advice on how they succeeded in their particular fields while they endorse smoking Camel cigarettes. Therefore, the primary goal of this campaign is to create a relationship between smoking cigarettes and career success (see Figure 147). This particular strategy is primarily social in nature. Featured professionals included bankers, company presidents and entrepreneurs.

Chesterfield:

During the 1961-1962 academic year, Chesterfield ran a series of advertisements called Sic Flics. This series used images from silent films dating from 1920s or perhaps earlier. In this particular example, a young man is seated on a chicken. In the caption below he asks, "All I have to do is fly to St. Louis and back and then I'm initiated?" Clearly, this advertisement refers to the initiation process that is a part of Greek life on campus (see Figure 148).

⁴⁴³ *The Orange and White*, September 30, 1960

⁴⁴⁴ *The Orange and White*, January 6, 1961

⁴⁴⁵ *The Orange and White*, May 27, 1960

During the 1962-1963 academic year, Chesterfield changed to a sensory strategy that positioned the brand as a masculine brand. Instead of promoting the regular Chesterfield brand, the Chesterfield King brand is advertised. The headline reflects the sensory strategy by stating, "Tastes Great because the tobaccos are!" In addition, a young man is shown enjoying a cigarette (see Figure 149).

Lucky Strike:

Instead of continuing to promote its brand using contests, Lucky Strike introduced a character named Dr. Frood. Dr. Frood was an eccentric character that offered advice and clever observations to college students. Usually, the advice was intended to be humorous in nature. For instance, this advertisement threatens students with a life-sized portrait of Dr. Frood if they do not buy Lucky Strike Cigarettes. Although this advertisement is atypical because it does not offer advice, its style and humor is representative of the campaign (see Figure 150).

In 1961, Lucky Strike replaced Dr. Frood with Lucky Puffers. Lucky Puffers is a comic strip that personifies cigarettes and casts them into various campus roles. This approach combines a social strategy with humor tactics to entice college students to smoke their brand. This particular comic strip is entitled "Saturday Night." The comic features cigarettes that are dating, walking down fraternity row, and just going outside for a smoke (see Figure 151).

During the 1962-1963 academic year Lucky Strike changed its campaign strategy to a social strategy that would position its brand as a male centered product. This strategy is similar to the social strategies that Camel and Chesterfield were using. In addition, Lucky Strike works to persuade its smokers to keep smoking Lucky Strike after graduation. The

reason for this appeal is that Lucky Strike is primarily a youth or young adult brand. The headline reads, “Get Lucky – the taste to start with...the taste to stay with” (see Figure 152).

Pall Mall:

Pall Mall resumed advertising in *The Orange and White* during the 1961-1962 academic year. Pall Mall began advertising by publishing the “Girl Watchers Guide.” Part of the social strategy of the “Girl Watchers Guide” involves joining “The American Society of Girl Watchers,” sponsored by Pall Mall. This advertising serial used a humorous spoof on “girl watching” to attract new male smokers (see Figure 153).

The following academic year, Pall Mall ran a similar campaign. However, in this case, the focus was on identifying the various types of girls on campus. As in the previous campaign, there is an implicit comparison between bird watching and girl watching. In this particular case, the campus type described is a “White-Coated Lab-Loon.” Men on campus are advised not to be intimidated by her and are assured that she doesn’t really want to compete with them. The copy says that she really has marriage on her mind just like other coeds. Again, the advertisement combines a social strategy with humorous tactics (see Figure 154).

Filtered Brands Advertised During the 1960s:

Tareyton:

During the 1960-1961 academic year, Tareyton used a sensory approach to promote its brand. The headline reads, “Filters for flavor – *finest flavor by far!*” The rational approach that was used the previous year was still present in the 1960-1961 campaign (see Figure 155).

During the 1961-1962 academic year, Tareyton began to use a combination of a social and a sensory strategy to promote its product. Tareyton used a Roman theme that seems to tap into the Greek social life on campus. The headline reads, “Tareyton delivers

the flavor – DVAL FILTER DOES IT!” The text reads, “Veteran coach Romulus (Uncle) Remus. “We have saying a Coliseum – Tareyton separates the gladiators from the gladioli.” It’s a real magus smoke” (see Figure 156).

Winston:

During the 1960-1961 academic year Winston advertised using a rational strategy. The headline reads, “It’s what up front that counts!” In addition to informing the reader about the Winston filter, the advertisement also uses the dating context to promote its brand. The advertisement included the Winston slogan, “WINSTON TASTES GOOD *like a cigarette should*” (see Figure 157).

L&M:

During the 1961-1962 academic year L&M began to publish quizzes that related to relationships, careers, politics and dating. In addition to providing the quiz, L&M tells students how 1383 students at 138 colleges responded to the items. The primary advertising strategy is social because the advertisement works to show that college students smoke L&M. The tactics entertain students through the poll (see Figure 158).

The following year L&M and Chesterfield sponsored a sweepstakes called the “L&M Grand Prix” that was aimed at college students. The sweepstakes promised to award 50 Pontiac Tempests to college students. The campaign uses a rational strategy and reward tactics to promote the Chesterfield and L&M brands (see Figure 159).

Viceroy:

During the 1961-1962 academic year, Viceroy sponsored a football contest. Every week, students were to guess the winners of the next series of big football games. The \$100.00 prizewinner from a previous list also had his picture published in the advertisement. The names of the winners of the \$10.00 prizes were also published in the advertisement.

Therefore, this advertisement uses a social strategy combined with tactics that entertain its target audience (see Figure 160).

The next year Viceroy changed to a social strategy that also focused on the sensory aspects of smoking. The image focuses on socializing in the collegiate atmosphere and the text centers on taste (see Figure 161).

Marlboro:

The Marlboro Man made his first appearance in *The Orange and White* during the 1962-1963 academic year. The primary strategy in this advertisement is ego related. The Marlboro Man is an individual that represents an American ideal to which many men aspire, which makes him a powerful referent figure (see Figure 162).

From 1960-1963 Max Shulman continued to publish his “On Campus” column for the Phillip Morris Marlboro brand. The Max Shulman column stands in stark contrast when compared to the advertisements that feature the stoic Marlboro Man. The column continued to focus on Shulman’s humorous observations of campus life. This particular column is entitled “Another Year, Another Dollar.” In this column Shulman celebrates his ninth year writing the “On Campus” column (see Figure 163). The “On Campus” column was the last series of cigarette advertisements printed in *The Orange and White*. The final column that Marlboro sponsored was printed on November 26, 1963. All of the other brands ended their campaigns in June of 1963. However, the “On Campus” column continued to be published starting in 1965. However, Burma Shave and Persona Injection Blades served as the corporate sponsors.

Menthol Brands Advertised From 1960-1963:

Kool discontinued its Kool Krossword and began to advertise using a sensory strategy. The advertisement asks if the reader is tired of filter cigarettes and other menthol

cigarettes, if so the reader is urged to “Come up...All The Way Up to the MENTHOL MAGIC of KOOL!” The primary image in the advertisement is a young man who looks as if he is college-aged. Therefore, the advertisement combines a sensory strategy with referent tactics (see Figure 164).

The Salem campaign during the early 1960s continued with the same natural theme that was used during the late 1950s. The campaign uses a sensory strategy combined with referent tactics. The primary image in the advertisement shows a couple enjoying some time in a park. The headline reads, “Salem refreshes your taste – “air-softens” every puff.” Therefore, the sensation of smoking is compared with the feeling of fresh air (see Figure 165).

Summary:

During the 1960s cigarette advertising continued its dominating presence in *The Orange and White*. Advertising for filtered brands was more prevalent than the non-filtered brands and the filtered brands had larger advertisements than their non-filtered counterparts. Detailed explanations of the effectiveness of filters virtually disappeared as social and sensory strategies dominated cigarette advertising. If filters were mentioned in advertisements, they were promoted based on what they did not do (ie. impede flavor) instead of their actual perceived function of filtering cigarette smoke.

Conclusion:

The presence of cigarette advertising gradually increased in *The Orange and White* from one single brand being advertised in 1921 to ten brands being advertised by 1962. Throughout the five decades that cigarette advertising had a presence in *The Orange and White*, the major three strategies remained the same: social, sensory and rational. During the 1920s, the goal of cigarette advertising was to gain social acceptance for the habit. Thus, a

variety of social approaches were used. During the 1930s cigarette smoking was a way to escape stress and socialize therefore both sensory and social approaches were common. However, a combination of rational and sensory strategies was used to advertise particular innovations in product packaging. During the 1940s, the sensory strategy dominated but many of the tactics centered on patriotism because of the war effort. The creation of filtered brands revived the rational strategy to promote the effective filtration provided by a particular brand. But, social strategies were common to demonstrate the popularity of a particular brand on campus. The sensory and social strategies returned to dominance in the 1960s when advertising regulations began to control health claims and the filter wars began to subside. Although the dominant strategy changed by decade, the primary three strategies were present with a good degree of regularity.

Although the dominant strategies fluctuated a bit by decade, the cigarette industry's skill in targeting a student audience generally increased. From the 1920s to the early 1960s an increasing number of advertisements referred to students or the collegiate environment directly. This precise targeting was complemented by games and contests that attracted student participation and interaction with the brand. Because of these sophisticated techniques, cigarette advertising in student newspapers was truly ahead of its time. The popularity of cigarette smoking on campus from the 1920s to the 1960s is evidence of the influence that tobacco advertising can have on young adults. The advertisements that were printed in student newspapers such as *The Orange and White* were instrumental in persuading students that smoking was a desirable, sophisticated, and glamorous habit.

Chapter Six: Discussion and Conclusion

One of the primary contributions of this cigarette advertising research is that it provides information about how the tobacco industry targeted young adults in the absence of significant governmental regulations. Without government intervention, cigarette smoking became an important element of collegiate culture from the 1920s to the 1960s. Using advertising in student newspapers as well as other promotional techniques, college students across the United States were convinced that smoking was a socially desirable habit and that smoking would help them adapt to collegiate life and to adult life after college.

The purpose of this last chapter is to discuss some of the most frequent advertising themes that appeared in *The Orange and White* and how governmental intervention through the FTC influenced the various advertising approaches that the tobacco industry was using to attract new cigarette smokers. The themes that are discussed in this chapter were identified through examining the cigarette advertisements that were published in *The Orange and White* from 1921 to 1963. Therefore, the topics generated in this chapter emerged from a study of the research itself.

Popular Cigarette Advertising Themes in *The Orange and White*:

From the early 1920s, when cigarette advertisements began appearing in the *Orange and White*, to the early 1960s, certain themes were popular in cigarette advertisements. These advertising themes were inductively grouped into several categories that emerged from the study of cigarette advertising in *The Orange and White*. These categories include “Matchmakers,” marketing cigarettes as a way to make a connection with the opposite sex, “Career Advisors,” selling cigarettes by associating smoking with career success, “Study Buddies,” suggesting that smoking enhances scholastic performance “Smoking and Health,” promoting the health benefits or physiological consequences of smoking a specific brand,

“Advertorials and Cartoons,” creating a cigarette advertisement that entertained students by mimicking editorial content, or “Promotional Advertising,” encouraging students to tune into tobacco sponsored broadcast programming.

Career Advisors:

From the very beginning of cigarette marketing, the tobacco industry positioned cigarettes as a way to achieve success in life. From the very beginning of the industrialization of cigarette manufacturing, Duke realized that upward mobility was an important part of the American psyche. And, he capitalized upon this facet of American culture by associating cigarettes with sophistication and success.⁴⁴⁶

Both Chesterfield and Camel often featured professional looking men smoking their brands during the early 1930s (See Figure 166).⁴⁴⁷ However, Chesterfield was the first brand to directly associate smoking with career success in its advertisements in the *Orange and White* (see Figure 167). In this first advertisement from 1933, the headline reads, “I’m working and Smoking overtime – hence a *Milder Cigarette*.” From the leather bound books in the background and his professional attire, the man in the image appears to be a young lawyer. The man provides his endorsement for Chesterfield by stating, “When I work hard, I usually smoke more; and when I smoke more I usually work harder – and that’s why I want a cigarette that is milder.” Therefore, the man suggests that smoking Chesterfield is going to help him in his work by keeping him alert.

During the 1934-1935 academic year, Camel ran advertisements that made the most direct connection between career success and smoking. The advertisements featured men and women from a variety of career and social backgrounds giving their endorsement for Camel. In addition to featuring men in various careers, the advertisement also features

⁴⁴⁶ Robert Sobel, *They Satisfy: The Cigarette and American Life* (Garden City, NJ: Anchor Press, 1978). pp.35-45.

⁴⁴⁷ *Orange and White*, 1930-1931

women in a variety of nontraditional career paths such as being a “Horsewoman” or a “Girl Explorer.” Careers mentioned in the advertisement include: engineer, transport pilot, reporter, transpacific flyer, explorer, cameraman, and rancher. Although the individuals are involved in a variety of different vocations, they all attest to the fact that they “get a Lift with a Camel” (see Figure 168).

Because of World War Two, the use of the career advisor approach continued to be popular. During the war, Chesterfield gave a tribute to the workers of America and their contribution to the war effort in its campaign in *The Orange and White* (see Figure 169). For instance the text in one such advertisement reads,

ALL OVER THE WORLD – America’s 900,000 aviation workers combine their skill and experience to satisfy today’s demand for war necessities. Thanks to our airplane makers, ground crews and pilots like Capt. Haakon Gulbranson (shown here), of Pan American airways, needed supplies are flown to our fighting men all over the world.

On the other hand, if joining the military is considered a vocation, cigarette marketers have advice to give their audience relating to getting ahead in the armed forces. For instance, the advertisements give slang terms used in the various branches of the military and the testimonial from a serviceman (see Figure 170).

During the early 1950s, the popularity of the career advisor approach waned in favor of other creative appeals. However, from the mid and late 1950s to the early 1960s the Career Advisor approach returned. The reason for the return of this approach is likely the fierce competition of filter wars. The brands that used this approach were the older non-filter brands, Camel and Chesterfield. In addition to using business tycoons, Camel also connected its brand to stardom. In its 1953-1954 campaign, Camel provided stories of “How the Stars got started.” In this series of advertisements, Hollywood stars would provide their endorsement of the brand as well of the story of how they broke into the movie business.

This approach encourages the reader to connect the brand with becoming famous (see Figure 171). In the 1956-1957 Camel campaign, the headline read, “HAVE A REAL CIGARETTE...have a Camel!” In a 1956 advertisement Murray Golub, a civil engineer on the Conn. Turnpike says, “I want a real cigarette – one I can taste. That’s why I’m a Camel smoker and have been ever since college” (see Figure 172). Chesterfield had a similar campaign, however, instead of featuring a testimonial the advertisement gave the forecast for particular lucrative careers. For example, the text for an advertisement featuring a nuclear physicist reads, “Experts predict atomic plants will produce 38% of electrical energy required in the U.S. in 1980. Wanted: more physicists for research and development” (see Figure 173).

It seems that the “Career Advisor” theme was a powerful persuasive approach for cigarette marketers wanting to target a college audience. Most students attending college are interested in learning skills that can be applied to a future career. This approach seemed to be targeting college-aged men as it featured males almost exclusively. In addition, during the late 1950s and 1960s the advertisements were for non-filtered brands that positioned them as the more masculine cigarettes. The “Career Advisor” theme seems to combine a social strategy with a referent tactics. The advertisements present cigarette smoking as a way to break in to the career world that students are aspiring to join and the advertisements also present individuals that students hope to emulate when they graduate.

Matchmakers:

Dating and relationships with the opposite sex is one of the most popular appeals in cigarette advertisements in *The Orange and White*. Because there was some question about the social acceptability of women smoking before 1930, most of the advertisements that used a dating context focused on women approving of their husband or boyfriend’s smoking habit.

However, once smoking became acceptable for both sexes, advertisements promoted cigarette smoking as a way to connect with the opposite sex.

Advertisements began featuring cigarette smoking as a way to break-the-ice with a member of the opposite sex in the early 1930s. Although it might have been suggested that men and women might smoke together in the 1920s, advertisements first began to feature couples smoking during the 1930-1931 academic year. In a Chesterfield advertisement that ran in 1932, the headline reads, “They Click with Me, too – .” The image shows a couple sharing a pack of cigarettes. The text follows,

THE young man is saying the reason he smokes Chesterfields is because they satisfy. The young lady agrees with him. She says, “They click with me, too. I’m not what you would call a heavy smoker. But even I can tell that they are milder...”

The advertisement seems to reflect the sentiment of the time. It was socially acceptable for women to smoke. But, women were not to be heavy smokers (see Figure 174). During 1935, Lucky Strike ran a similar campaign. The headline reads, “Remember how I brought you two together.’ I’m your best friend. I am your Lucky Strike.” The image features a couple sharing a pack of Luckies (see Figure 175).

The matchmaker approach virtually disappeared during the 1940s. However, it reappeared in *The Orange and White* in 1954 during the filter wars. It seems that the filter wars were an impetus for cigarette brands to either develop new strategies or return to previous strategies that had been successful in the past. Winston, a filtered cigarette, was the first brand to resume this strategy. In an advertisement that ran in 1955, the headline reads, “YOU’LL BOTH GO FOR THIS CIGARETTE! Get together on Winston” (see Figure 176). The image features a young man and woman smoking together. Like Winston, Tareyton also used a matchmaking approach and featured a young man and woman smoking together (see Figure 177).

The matchmaking approach was also popular among the non-filtered brands. For instance, Camel also advertised using a dating theme. The text reads, “When classes are through, And your girl’s next to you, Here’s a good thing to do – have a CAMEL!” (see Figure 178). In 1955, Chesterfield also ran advertisements that used a dating theme (see Figure 179).

Using the matchmaker approach to advertising demonstrated how smoking could serve a social need. Many young people are interested in dating and meeting people of the opposite sex. Cigarette manufacturers demonstrated how their product could help facilitate conversation with new people. The matchmaker theme definitely employs a social strategy and positions cigarettes as a way to relieve the anxiety associated with communicating with members of the opposite sex. In addition, the advertisements use a referent tactic by showing couples that students either relate to or aspire to emulate.

Campus Cigarette:

Many cigarette brands worked to position themselves as the most popular brand among college students. These advertisements targeted college students very directly by mentioning their particular school or other colleges and universities by name.

In the 1920s, Old Gold was the first cigarette brand to directly target college students. The campaign headline reads, “AT LEADING COLLEGES...*This is an Old Gold year*” (See Figure 180). Old Gold published statements from local tobacconists that were popular with the University of Tennessee students in their advertisements. For instance, Gray Piper Drug Co., located at 1506 West Cumberland, Knoxville, TN said,

“The growth of OLD GOLD Cigarettes’ popularity here has been amazing to me, but what interests me most is the way students stick to the brand after they start smoking it. OLD GOLD smokers don’t switch.”⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁸ *Orange and White*, April 12, 1928`

Another leading tobacconist that served University of Tennessee students, J. Blaufeld & Son, 516 Gay Street, Knoxville, TN said,

“OLD GOLD is easily the fastest-growing cigarette in this locality, and I shouldn’t be surprised before long to find it the most popular cigarette on the campus. The boys sure do like its smoothness.”⁴⁴⁹

However, use of the collegiate theme lost popularity after 1928 and did not reappear in *The Orange and White* until the 1950s when it was one of the most popular advertising approaches. Lucky Strike used the collegiate approach consistently from 1950-1962. Lucky Strike regularly mentioned specific colleges and universities by name and claimed to be the most popular cigarette among students. Lucky Strike based its claim on the fact that it surveyed over 30,000 college students (See Figure 181). Chesterfield also claimed to be the most popular cigarette at a variety of college campuses that included Rice,⁴⁵⁰ Northwestern,⁴⁵¹ Princeton,⁴⁵² Cornell,⁴⁵³ University of Virginia,⁴⁵⁴ and M.I.T.⁴⁵⁵ The advertisement asked local tobacconists to certify that Chesterfield was the most popular brand (See Figure 182).

In addition to making claims about being the most popular cigarette on campus, various cigarette brands sponsored contests to recruit college smokers. Lucky Strike sponsored campus contests that included jingles, word puzzles, called “Sticklers,” and picture puzzles, called “Doodles.” In addition to winning a \$25.00 prize, both students and their universities would be mentioned in Lucky Strike advertisements (see Figure 183). L&M, Oasis, and Chesterfield, the Liggett and Meyers cigarette brands, sponsored a contest between Tennessee and Kentucky football fans to see which school could collect more

⁴⁴⁹ *Orange and White*, April 5, 1928`

⁴⁵⁰ *The Orange and White*, November 7, 1951

⁴⁵¹ *The Orange and White*, October 3, 1951

⁴⁵² *The Orange and White*, October 24, 1951

⁴⁵³ *The Orange and White*, October 31, 1951

⁴⁵⁴ *The Orange and White*, October 17, 1951

⁴⁵⁵ *The Orange and White*, November 28, 1951

cigarette packs (see Figure 184). Viceroy also sponsored a contest that centered on school spirit and college football. In the fall of 1961, Viceroy sponsored a contest where students were challenged to select the winning teams and scores for select football games. The winner would win a cash prize and would have his or her picture featured in a Viceroy advertisement (see Figure 185).

Associating particular cigarette brands with school spirit on campus was a popular advertising theme during the 1950s and early 1960s. Sponsoring a contest or mentioning specific colleges and university by name was a way to get students interested in smoking. In addition, promoting brands based on their popularity on certain college and university campuses reinforced the idea that cigarette smoking is a desirable habit among students. Like the “Career Advisor” theme, these advertisements combine a social strategy with a referent appeal. However, these advertisements focus more intently on the present. Instead of considering the careers students want to pursue in the future and the social circles that they hope to join, the advertisements focus on fitting in with their peers and being a socially desirable member of the campus community.

Study Buddies:

Because college campuses are academic institutions, the primary target audience for cigarette advertisers was the student population. Students, by their very nature, are concerned about their academic performance on exams and written assignments. A good way to appeal to the student population is to make the claim that cigarette smoking enhances academic performance. The primary ways that cigarette advertisements claimed to enhance academic performance was by heightening mental acuity and alertness. R.J. Reynolds Camel brand used this particular tactic regularly from the 1934-1935 to the 1937-1938 academic year. The advertisements featured male students’ testimonials. The common headline for the

campaign reads, “GET A LIFT WITH A CAMEL!” Charles Stephens, a pre-medical student provides his endorsement for Camel cigarettes (see Figure 186). His testimonial reads,

“I’ve followed the recent scientific investigations that confirm Camel’s ‘energizing effect.’ But I already knew from my own personal experience that Camels lift up my energy and enable me to tackle my next assignment with renewed vigor. It has definitely been established that Camels are a milder cigarette.”

In addition to offering his endorsement as a fellow student, Stephens provides scientific information that relates to the benefits of smoking. In another advertisement published in the *Orange and White* on March 29, 1935, Lawrence Alfred Brewer offers his endorsement.

His testimonial reads,

“I’M SPECIALIZING IN HISTORY – French and English history,” says Lawrence Brewer. “In addition, I have a job in the library for four hours a day, and I also work up data and material for the debating team. I’ll tell you – it keeps me going hard. I’ve got more work than time. When I am hard pressed, smoking Camels is not only a pleasure – it’s a help too. For when I feel ‘fed up’ – and it seems as though my energy were all used up – I smoke a Camel and get a lift in energy. Camels have a swell, rich flavor: due, I presume, to the use of choicer tobaccos. I smoke as many as I want to – for Camels don’t ruffle my nerves.”

Students continued to offer their testimonials during 1937. However, as time passed the students provided more ambiguous endorsement that offered less information about them as individuals. Arthur H. Waldo Jr.’s testimonial reads,

“I GET MORE ENJOYMENT FROM CAMELS” says *Arthur H. Waldo Jr.* College Class of ’38. “I’ve found that Camels help offer the strain of long hours of study. Working out a tough assignment often can make me feel tense inside. So at mealtime, you’ll see me enjoying my Camels.” Yes, Camels speed up digestive fluids – increase alkalinity.⁴⁵⁶

The Study Buddy approach to advertising cigarettes was particularly popular with Camel cigarettes during the 1930s. However, this creative theme disappeared after the 1930s. The “Study Buddy” theme used a rational strategy by persuading students that smoking

⁴⁵⁶ *Orange and White*, February 18, 1937

tobacco would enhance academic performance. This rational strategy was combined with referent tactics. The advertisements showed successful students attributing their academic achievements to smoking cigarettes.

Smoking and Health:

Although the smoking and health controversy did not become a public concern until the 1950s, many cigarette advertisements mentioned health related topics in their advertisements before the dangers of smoking became well known. Before the 1950s, cigarette advertisements claimed that certain brands did not cause throat irritation or coughing, aided digestion, calmed smokers' nerves, and did not influence athletic performance. Once health and smoking issues began to cause concerns about smoking, health claims centered on filters and the quality of particular brands of cigarettes.

During the 1920s, Old Gold was the only cigarette advertiser to make health related claims in the *Orange and White*. In its campaigns that ran from 1926-1929, Old Gold used its famous slogan "...not a cough in the carload." In addition, many of its advertisements mentioned coughing and throat irritation and prescribed Old Gold as a solution to these undesirable consequences of smoking. In many of the advertisements, someone has consistent problems with coughing and their cough disrupts a particular situation, such as a photo shoot. A friend or relative suggests Old Golds as a coughing remedy (see Figure 187).

During the 1931-1932 academic year, Lucky Strike began to make health related claims regarding cigarette smoking. The first health related campaign that Lucky Strike ran in the *Orange and White* asked the question, "DO YOU INHALE?" The text reassured the reader by stating, "More than 20,000 physicians, after Luckies had been furnished them for tests, basing their opinion on their smoking experience, stated that Luckies are less irritating to the throat than other cigarettes" (See Figure 188). Towards the end of the decade, Lucky

Strike used celebrities to attest to the healthfulness of their cigarette. In a 1937 advertisement actor Cary Grant says, “a light smoke rates acers high with my throat.” The advertisement continues by stating, “A Light Smoke ‘It’s Toasted’ – Your Throat Protection AGAINST IRRITATION – AGAINST COUGH” (See Figure 189).

Like Lucky Strike, Camel also created advertisements that mentioned the physiological effects of smoking. However, instead of mentioning the side effects that smoking Camels does not cause, the brand focused on the positive effects of smoking. For example, Camel used athletes, such as professional golfers Desmore Sute, Tommy Armour, and Gene Sarazen, as well as students to attest that smoking soothed their nerves (see Figure 190). Likewise, Camel used the testimonials from athletes such as New York Giants pitcher Carl Hubbell and tennis champion George M. Lott Jr. to attest that smoking does not impede athletic performance because “THEY DON’T GET YOUR WIND” (see Figure 191). In addition to not impeding athletic performance, Camel used the testimonials of students and professionals to claim that smoking was beneficial to digestion (see Figure 192).

During the 1940s, most advertisements connected cigarette smoking with patriotism. However, Camel continued to mention the physiological benefits of smoking Camel. In addition to mention the health benefits of the brand, Camel also advertised the fact that it contained 28% less nicotine than other leading brands. However, the advertisements failed to mention why a lower nicotine content is beneficial for smokers. To further Camel’s health claims, it used athletes such as Ralph Flanagan to promote the brand (see Figure 193). Camel also claimed that smoking Camel did not affect the “T-Zone.” The “T-Zone” was comprised of the smoker’s nose, mouth, and throat. Camel encouraged smokers to give its brand a 30-day test to prove the brand’s mildness (see Figure 194). Towards the end of the decade, Old Gold also made some claims that related to the healthfulness of smoking. This

simple advertisement emphasizes the fact that the makers of Old Gold are tobacco men and that the only thing that they attest about their product is that it is made for enjoyment. This advertisement also seems to be an effort on the part of Lorillard Tobacco Company to dismiss health concerns about smoking. Although this advertisement does not directly address health issues, it suggests that health related concerns are not important. Instead, the tobacco's quality and enjoyment should be the smoker's concern (see Figure 195).

During the early to mid-1950s, health claims regarding cigarette smoking increased in advertisements in *The Orange and White*. This increase was due to published reports that linked smoking to health problems and the introduction of filtered brands to help eliminate public fears about smoking. However, FTC regulations limited any health related claims and the mention of a particular filter effectiveness, tar content or nicotine content after the mid-1950s. Therefore, Health related claims disappeared from *The Orange and White* after 1958.

Both filtered and non-filtered brands made health claims during the 1950s. Non-filtered brands such as Camel and Chesterfield promoted the healthfulness of their product based on the quality of their product. However, some unfiltered brands such as Lucky Strike, Old Gold, and Pall Mall avoided health related advertising during the 1950s. Filtered brands such as Tareyton, L&M, Viceroy, and Winston made claims about the effectiveness of their filters. Like the 1940s, Camel continued to advertise that its cigarettes had no effect on the smoker's "T-Zone" and that smokers should give Camel a 30-day test for "mildness." Like Camel, Chesterfield claims that the nose, throat and sinuses are not effected by smoking their brand. In addition, Chesterfield claims that its high quality cigarettes have low nicotine content. (See Figures 196 & 197). On the other hand, filtered brands such as Viceroy and L&M centered on the quality and effectiveness of the filter. For instance, L&M refers to its

filter as a miracle tip and Viceroy states that its filter is made from the same pure and natural materials found in fruit (See Figures 198 & 199).

Whether promoting the physiological benefits of smoking or reassuring smokers about the healthfulness of smoking, the relationship between smoking and health was a frequent topic in cigarette advertising in *The Orange and White*. Referring to the physiological or health related aspects of cigarette is a rational approach to advertising. This rational strategy uses product information as a means of persuading students that smoking is healthful or has desirable physiological results.

Advertorials/ Cartoons:

In order to entice their audience to read their advertisements, cigarettes brands mimicked editorial formats. Cigarette advertisements used comic strips, advice columns, and celebrity columnists to attract readers. This advertorial approach was almost always combined with humor. However, on a few occasions it was combined with novel or surprising information. These advertorials usually appeared in serials that ran for more than one academic year. The Max Shulman column, sponsored by Phillip Morris and Marlboro, was the longest running advertorial in *The Orange and White*. Phillip Morris Co. sponsored the column from 1953-1963. After 1963, when cigarette advertising was removed, Burma Shave and other non-tobacco sponsors continued the column.

The comic strip was the first advertorial format used by tobacco advertisers in *The Orange and White*. The first comic strip printed in the *Orange and White* was printed on October 1, 1927. The sponsor was Old Gold. The comic strip was, "Somebody Is Always Taking The Joy Out of Life," by a cartoonist named Briggs (See Figure 200). The comic strip ran during the 1927-1928 and 1928-1929 academic years. However, the title and format of the cartoon frequently changed. During the 1929-1930 academic year, Old Gold used John

Held Jr. to create a comic in linoleum cuts that mimicked his famous “Gay Nineties” feature that poked gentle fun at the previous generation. Old Gold’s use of Held’s creative abilities helped the brand resonate with the college student audience during the 1920s. (see Figure 201). Old Gold discontinued the comic approach until 1934-1935 academic year when it began the “AT TRYING TIMES...TRY A *Smooth* OLD GOLD” comic campaign. This serial cartoon positioned smoking Old Golds as a “smooth” way to get out of awkward situations such as being “Pawed by a Pudgy Wudgy” or “Dished by a Dilemma.” In addition to providing a social use for smoking, the cartoons were intended to be humorous (see Figures 202 & 203).

Camel began to use a comic strip during the 1932-1933 academic year in its “It’s Fun to be Fooled...” series. In this series Camel revealed the secrets behind popular magic tricks. The point of the cartoon was to point out that its fun to be fooled during a magic show but not when choosing a cigarette (see Figure 204). Although it was popular during the 1930s, the comic approach did not return to *The Orange and White* until the 1950s when Camel introduced the “Campus Interviews on Cigarettes Tests.” This campaign featured a series of cartoons that personified animals describing their individual smoking habits (see Figure 205). The serial comic ran during the 1950-1951 and 1951-1952 academic years. The following academic year Camel advertised with the “...But only Time will Tell” comic. The point of the cartoon was to try to persuade students that, like everything else, you can only tell if you like smoking after you have given the habit a chance (see Figure 206). For instance the text of one advertisement reads,

ONLY TIME WILL TELL how great a student really is! And only time will tell about a cigarette. Take your time...make the sensible 30-day Camel mildness test. See how Camels suit you as your steady smoke.

Camel resumed the serial comic approach during the 1958-1959 academic year. This serial

cartoon used the slogan, “Have a real cigarette – have a CAMEL.” This series of cartoons focused on the importance of having a real cigarette. And, Camel is, of course, a real cigarette (see Figure 207). The text adjacent a cartoon reads,

More buxom blondes with shipwrecked sailors insist on Camels than any other cigarette today. It stands to reason. The best tobacco makes the best smoke. The Camel blend of costly tobaccos has never been equaled for rich flavor and easygoing mildness. No wonder Camel is the No. 1 cigarette of all.

Although Camel used the cartoon approach more than any other brand, Winston, Pall Mall, and Lucky Strike also used comics to advertise their brands. During the 1958-1959 academic year, Winston used cartoons to create a comic satire of popular literary works such as Arthurian legends and Moby Dick. In each comic, Winston cigarettes allow the hero to save the day (see Figure 208). Each cartoon ends with the familiar slogan, “Winston tastes good! Like a Cigarette Should!” Pall Mall also ran a cartoon series called “The Girl Watchers Guide.” This comic was a satirical guide for young men looking for a mate. The cartoon series ran during the 1961-1962 and 1962-1963 academic years (see Figure 209). Lucky Strike’s “Lucky Puffers” comic ran during the 1961-1962 academic year. This humorous column personified cigarettes and satirized campus life (see Figure 210).

Although cartoons and comics are a popular way to mimic editorial, *The Orange and White* also contained other forms of advertorials. For example, the popular Max Shulman comic, “On Campus” was a column where the humorist provided humorous stories and observations relating to college and university life. Although the column often was illustrated with a cartoon, the image was a subordinate feature of the advertorial (see Figure 211). In addition, Kool’s advertising campaign during the 1959-1960 academic year used a crossword puzzle format. The “Kool Krosswords” used a popular word game to mimic editorial content (See Figure 212).

From the 1920s to the 1960s, advertorials were popular in a variety of forms. Using the same format as editorial was a popular way for cigarette advertisers to get students interested in their advertising and entice them to try their product. Advertorials can include a variety of promotional tactics. Most of the cartoons and advertorials use humor to sell their brand. Other cartoons present product information or other novel kinds of facts to advertise the product.

Promotional Advertising:

In addition to purchasing advertising space, cigarette manufacturers also sponsored radio and television programming. Many cigarette advertisers used their advertising space to promote their product and their programs. Oftentimes, sponsoring programs also involved promoting the stars of these broadcasts.

The first advertisements that promoted cigarette-sponsored radio programming appeared in the *Orange and White* in 1929. The “Paul Whiteman Radio Hour” was promoted in a February 28, 1929 advertisement for Old Gold. The text reads,

On your radio...OLD GOLD PAUL WHITEMAN HOUR...Paul Whiteman, King of Jazz, and his complete orchestra, broadcasts the Old Gold Hour every Tuesday from 9 to 10 P.M., Eastern Standard Time, over the Network of Columbia Broadcast System.

Although the advertisement promotes the broadcast, it is subordinate to the image, the headlines, and main body text. The promotions were printed in Old Gold’s advertisements from February to October of 1929. Like Old Gold, Lucky Strike included a promotion for “The Lucky Strike Dance Orchestra” in its 1931-1932 advertising campaign. Again, the promotional text was subordinate to all of the other text and images in the advertisements. Chesterfield gave one of its first promotional plugs for its radio shows in a February 19, 1932 advertisement. The promotional text reads,

CHESTERFIELD’S RADIO PROGRAM – Nat Shilkret’s Orchestra and

Alex Gray, well-known soloist, will entertain you over the Columbia Coast-to-Coast Network, every night, except Sunday, at 10:30 E.S.T.

Like the promotional spots in the other advertisements, the text relating to the radio programming is the smallest in the advertisement and has nothing to do with the rest of the cigarette advertisement (See Figure 213).

However, by the end of 1932, Chesterfield was frequently using its entire advertising space in the *Orange and White* to promote its radio programs, such as an advertisement featuring the Boswell sisters. In fact, this advertisement was more focused on the sponsored broadcast than Chesterfield cigarettes (see Figure 214). Chesterfield continued to run advertisements that focused almost exclusively on its programming for the remainder of the 1931-1932 academic year. However, the following academic year, Chesterfield ran only one promotional advertisement for Arthur Tracy in the *Orange and White*. The rest of the advertisements only mentioned Chesterfield's programming in subtext. On May 7, 1937, Chesterfield printed a promotional advertisement that invited readers to dance and sing with featured artists Hal Kemp and Kay Thompson on their program at 6:30 on Fridays on C.B.S. (See Figure 215). Chesterfield's final promotional advertisement before the outbreak of the Second World War featured Glenn Miller. The advertisement was printed for the January 10, 1940 issue of *The Orange and White*.

On April 4, 1933, Camel ran the first promotional advertisement for its "All-Star Camel Caravan." The full-page advertisement focused more on the programming schedule and the stars, such as singers Annette Hanshaw and Walter O'Keefe, than Camel cigarettes. However, Camel did not run another promotional advertisement for the Camel Caravan in the *Orange and White* until October 25, 1935. Again the advertisement focused more on the programming schedule and the performers, such as Walter O'Keefe, Deane Janis, Ted Husing and Glen Gray, than the Camel brand itself (See Figure 216). In 1937, Camel

introduced "Jack Oakie's College." The Camel sponsored radio program aired every Tuesday night and promoted the program several times in the *Orange and White*. The comic variety show presented college life as Jack Oakie thought it should be. Jack Oakie was an actor and comedian who was dubbed "The World's Oldest Freshman" because he was rather old for the collegiate roles he was frequently asked to play, including roles in *College Humor* (1933), *College Rhythm* (1934) and *Collegiate* (1935). In the movie *Rise and Shine* (1941), the 38-year-old was asked to play an 18-year-old senior.⁴⁵⁷ "Jack Oakie's College" also featured performances from Benny Goodman's Swing Band and George Stoll's Orchestra (see Figure 217). Promoting Camel cigarettes among college students was an integral part of the program. The following is a vignette from the May 11, 1937 broadcast of "Jack Oakie's College:"

GOODWIN:

Now back to the present, ladies and gentlemen. . .

Here's a scene at the Victor Hugo Restaurant, Beverly Hills. One of the most famous restaurants in the world. A charming young couple has just sat down at a table in the Palm Garden.

(FADE IN MUSIC)

MAN:

Well, Janet, we've certainly seen a lot today -- Malibu Beach this morning - lunch at the Brown Derby, watching a picture being shot in the afternoon - and . . .

GIRL:

And now - dinner at one of the finest restaurants in the world!

MAN:

Yes. Well, to be practical, here's the menu! What appeals to you?

GIRL:

U-m-m, let's see. Oh -- this sounds good. Jumbo squab with broccoli and candied sweet potatoes.

MAN:

That's quite an order after, an exciting day!

GIRL:

Don't worry, I'll enjoy every bit of it! Oh! Have we plenty of CAMELS?

MAN:

Of course. For "digestion's sake"!

GIRL:

⁴⁵⁷ "Biography for Jack Oakie" *IMDB* <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0642988/bio> [Retrieved June 15, 2007]

You're right! It's grand to enjoy CAMELS. They give you such a delightful sense of well-being!

GOODWIN:

And, it's not surprising that CAMELS -- the cigarette that's made from costlier tobaccos -- appear on so many tables in the Victor Hugo. Here's what Hugo himself says: QUOTE. Our patrons know fine tobacco as well as fine food. CAMEL Cigarettes are the overwhelming favorite here. END QUOTE. "For digestion's sake - smoke CAMELS" is a good idea to remember during and after every meal.⁴⁵⁸

In addition to featuring a number of vignettes and sketches, this particular program featured actress and singer Judy Garland and Musician Benny Goodman.

Camel also promoted Benny Goodman's Great Swing Band's performance on the "Camel Caravan" in the *Orange and White* on April 15, 1938. Camel printed another promotional advertisement for Benny Goodman's Tuesday night program on January 27, 1939. The program gained popularity when it capitalized on young people's cravings for Swing music. The swing music craze spanned from the mid-1930s to 1950. In addition to Goodman's Tuesday night performances, the advertisement introduced Eddie Cantor's Monday evening comedy act. However, in 1940 all promotional advertisements in *The Orange and White* stopped because of the war. However, the radio program was broadcast on N.B.C. radio for over 20 years, spanning from 1933-1954.

In 1947, cigarette-sponsored promotional advertising resumed in *The Orange and White*. Phillip Morris along with its famous bellhop promoted "Phillip Morris Night with Horace Height." The N.B.C. radio program was promoted as "The Newest Most Thrilling Hunt in America Including Top Stars from the Colleges" (See Figure 218). Several advertisements for "Phillip Morris Night with Horace Height" were printed in *The Orange and White* during the 1947-1948 academic year. Chesterfield began promoting the "Chesterfield Supper Club" in *The Orange and White* on November 19, 1948. The N.B.C. radio program

⁴⁵⁸ *Generic Radio Workshop Script Library* "Jack Oakie College" (May 11, 1937) <http://www.genericradio.com/show.php?id=3c7493ff798a97ae> [Retrieved June 15, 2007]

featured musicians Perry Como, Jo Stafford, and Peggy Lee (see Figure 219).

In 1950, the promotional advertising for cigarette-sponsored radio programming came to an end. However, in 1952, Phillip Morris began running promotional advertisements for its new television program “I Love Lucy” (see Figure 220). This series of advertisements comprised the last promotions for cigarette-sponsored programming in *The Orange and White*.

Although cigarette advertisements promoting broadcast programming were far from the most frequent advertisements in *The Orange and White*, it is important to mention them because they demonstrate how various cigarette brands used an integrated marketing strategy to promote cigarette smoking among college and university students. Many of these programs use a social strategy by demonstrating the popularity of the brand among students. Some combine a social strategy with celebrity tactics by associating their product with celebrities. These advertisements are unique demonstrate how broadcast and print media worked together to target students. The strategies and tactics that are used in the print advertisements seem to be consistent across media.

The Use of Endorsements:

A common theme that runs through nearly all advertising approaches is the use of endorsement. To sell cigarette smoking to the collegiate audience, advertisements used a variety of testimonials. Cigarette brands used the “Career Advisor” theme, that included the testimonials of celebrities and successful businessmen, to try to persuade students that smoking would help them reach their career goals. Advertisements also used student endorsements in college cigarette and study buddy approach to convince their audience that smoking was a popular habit among their peers. Cigarette manufacturers also used the endorsements of celebrities, athletes, and peers to help persuade students about the

healthfulness of their product. The promotional programming also implicitly or directly provided the endorsement of the musicians and actors who participated in the broadcasts. In addition to actual people, cartoons or comic characters also provided their testimonials about the product.

The use of endorsement was a powerful persuasive tool for cigarette advertisers because it works to help persuade the young audience that smoking is popular among their peer group and the social groups that they aspire to join. Therefore the advertisements communicate that cigarette smoking is both a socially acceptable and desirable habit. Cigarette smoking is also positioned as a way to create and manage social relationships. For instance, offering a stranger a cigarette is shown as a way to start social or dating relationships. It is also depicted as a way to manage uncomfortable or stressful social situations. Therefore, cigarette smoking is marketed as a tool for young people who need to learn how to navigate to social system of the adult world that they need to join. In this way, cigarettes, an unnecessary product, is given a useful and desirable role in American collegiate culture.

The Influence of Legislation on Advertising Appeals:

Cigarette advertising was very effective at persuading young adults and teenagers that cigarette smoking was essential right of passage for joining adult society. The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) recognized that the tobacco industry was engaging in some unethical practices to entice the college audience. Therefore, the FTC worked to limit the tools that the advertising industry could use before persuading the industry to completely remove the advertisements from student oriented publications. One of the most intriguing aspects of studying cigarette advertising in student newspapers is that the advertisements were virtually unregulated until the early 1950s. And, the regulations of the 1950s were minimal.

In January 1930, the FTC passed some of its very first cigarette advertising regulations. These regulations related to testimonials that Lucky Strike created that were from celebrities that did not smoke. The FTC ruled that the American Tobacco Co. had to stop creating advertising that included the testimonies of endorsers that never used their product. Further, the American Tobacco Co. needed to identify paid testimonials.⁴⁵⁹

The first celebrity testimonials used in Lucky Strikes included a disclaimer that stated that the endorsement was made without monetary compensation. For instance, an advertisement featuring Jean Harlow that ran in the *Orange and White* on October 29, 1931 included the following statement.

Is Miss Harlow's Statement Paid For? You may be interested in knowing that not one cent was paid to Miss Harlow to make the above statement. Miss Harlow has been a smoker of LUCKY STRIKE cigarettes for 2 years. We hope that the publicity herewith given will be as beneficial to her and to Fox and Columbia, her producers, as her endorsement of LUCKIES is to you and to us.

In addition to including Jean Harlow's endorsement, the advertisement also mentions her current films (see Figure 221). This same advertising approach was also used in advertisements that featured aviatrix and actress Sally Eilers,⁴⁶⁰ actress Dorothy Mackaill,⁴⁶¹ actor Robert Montgomery,⁴⁶² actor Douglas Fairbanks,⁴⁶³ actress Sue Carol,⁴⁶⁴ and actress Mary Ceston.⁴⁶⁵ Although the advertisements mentioned that the celebrity spokespeople were not compensated, both the actors and their films received publicity in the advertisements. In fact, it seemed that Lucky Strike was able to capitalize on the FTC's restriction. Actors seemed more credible when the audience was informed that they were not

⁴⁵⁹ Stephen Fox *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertisers & Its Creators*. (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1997) p.116.

⁴⁶⁰ *Orange and White*, November 6, 1931

⁴⁶¹ *Orange and White*, October 22, 1931 and February 5, 1932

⁴⁶² *Orange and White*, January 15, 1932

⁴⁶³ *Orange and White*, February 12, 1932

⁴⁶⁴ *Orange and White*, February 26, 1932

⁴⁶⁵ *Orange and White*, March 4, 1932

being paid for the testimonial. In spite of Lucky Strike's skillful management of the situation, celebrity endorsements lost popularity by the mid-1930s. However, in 1937, Lucky Strike began advertising again using celebrity testimonials. However, the testimonials were printed without any mention of whether the celebrities were compensated (see Figure 222).

In proceedings culminating in 1950 with cease and desist orders against every major tobacco company, the FTC found virtually all cigarette advertisements had been false, misleading, and deceptive.⁴⁶⁶ For instance, in the proceedings against R.J. Reynolds, like the previous case against Lucky Strike and American Tobacco Company, the FTC found that many of the celebrity endorsements for the Camel brand were deceptive because either the celebrities did not smoke or they did not smoke Camels exclusively.⁴⁶⁷ The Chesterfield "Nose, Throat, and Accessory Organs Not Adversely Affected by Smoking Chesterfields" campaign was also the subject of an FTC investigation that resulted in a cease and desist order entered against Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company.⁴⁶⁸

In 1951, the FTC ordered the American Tobacco Company's Lucky Strike brand to abandon any claims regarding the acid levels of its cigarettes, throat irritation, and nicotine levels. Likewise, R.J. Reynold's Camel cigarettes received a mandate that it had to stop advertising that smoking Camel brand aids digestion, calms the nerves, increases energy levels, doesn't impede athletes "wind," and that it contains less nicotine than other brands.⁴⁶⁹ Likewise, the FTC prohibited Phillip Morris from stating that its brand was less irritating

⁴⁶⁶ Abrams, T.; Crist, P.; Kaczynski, S.; Marple, W. "Confidential Report Containing Legal Advice and Attorney Opinion Work Product Regarding Numerous Smoking and Health Issues Relevant to Litigation, Prepared by Outside Counsel for RJR, with Whom B&W Maintains A Common Legal Interest, and Forwarded to B&W in-House Counsel". No date. Bates: 681879254-681879715. p.271. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/681879254-9715.html> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

⁴⁶⁷ R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., 46 F.T.C. 706 (1950). modified, 192 F. 2d 535 (7th Cir. 1951), order modified, 48 F.T.C. 682 (1952).

⁴⁶⁸ 55 F.T.C. 354 (1958) (Bruff Depo. Exh. 7)

⁴⁶⁹ F.T.C. "Modified Order to Cease and Desist" (January 17, 1952) Bates Number: 980300590/059 <<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/ogo15f00>>

than other brands of cigarettes.⁴⁷⁰

These regulations initiated a major shift in creative strategy. Before the 1950s, many of Camel's advertisements focused on the physiological effects of smoking. For instance, the brand gave you energy and calmed your nerves but it did not impede your ability to perform in athletic events or affect the "I-Zone." Therefore, many Camel advertisements in *The Orange and White* encouraged students to consider the effects that smoking might have on their bodies. However, after 1950, Camel changed tactics and began advertising using stories of how celebrities and tycoons became successful or light-hearted cartoons to promote its brand. Likewise, during the late 1940s and early 1950s Chesterfield ran numerous advertisements to counteract health concerns. After the FTC regulations, the advertisements in *The Orange and White* Chesterfield changed its approach and advertised to students by suggesting that it was the most popular cigarette on college campuses, that it was a popular cigarette among members of the opposite sex, and by suggesting that people who were successful in their careers smoked the brand. Health concerns were completely ignored in advertising for non-filtered cigarette brands.

Another set of FTC guidelines were created in 1954. The purpose of these 1954 "cigarette advertising guides" was to close the gaps in its brand specific decrees. The guides specifically prohibited all references to "throat, larynx, lungs, nose or other parts of the body," or to "digestion, nerves or doctors." A later press release stated, "No advertising should be used which refers to either the presence or absence of any physical effect of smoking."⁴⁷¹ In addition, the guides banned all tar and nicotine claims unless definite scientific evidence existed to prove the claims. However, the guides permitted the

⁴⁷¹ Calfee, John E. "The Ghost of Cigarette Advertising Regulation Past" Regulation, 1997 Volume 20(3): <<http://www.cato.org/pubs/regulation/reg20n3d.html>> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

advertising of pleasure and taste.⁴⁷²

Again, these guidelines changed the advertising approaches that were used in *The Orange and White*. From the middle of the 1950s to the early 1960s, advertising for filtered brands was increasing while the advertising for the non-filtered cigarettes was gradually declining. Instead of advertising referring to the effectiveness of or benefits of various filters, the advertising began to refer more exclusively to what the filters did not do. For instance, the filters did not impede the flavor or pleasure of smoking. This change in approach probably appealed to *The Orange and White's* college student audience. Young people typically are not interested in the long-term health consequences that result from smoking. Instead, they are more interested how their peers will react to the habit. From the late 1950s to the early 1960s the tobacco industry created advertisements that focused almost exclusively on the pleasure and social benefits that cigarette smoking provided. During the last five years that cigarettes were advertised in campus newspapers, *The Orange and White* contained more cigarette advertising than ever before. And, the cigarette advertising was more image-based than ever before. Thus, in some ways, the FTC increased the appeal of the filtered brands by preventing them from discussing any health related issues.

Although the FTC regulations might have prevented an older generation from feeling a false sense of security about the healthfulness of cigarette smoking, the regulations did very little to help young adults and teenagers who were the industry's primary target audience. The FTC regulations prevented the cigarette manufacturers from addressing much factual product information and forced the industry into highly successful image-based advertising campaigns that were much more appealing to young people. Not surprisingly, most students found comic strips and other humorous appeals and collegiate appeals to be

⁴⁷² Calfee, John E. "The Ghost of Cigarette Advertising Regulation Past" Regulation, 1997 Volume 20(3): <<http://www.cato.org/pubs/regulation/reg20n3d.html>> (Retrieved 28 July 2006).

much more enticing than detailed explanations of the various types of cigarette filters. The only FTC regulation that protected the college market was the 1964 Cigarette Advertising Code that prevented cigarette companies from advertising in student newspapers such as *The Orange and White*.

The 1964 Cigarette Advertising Code formally brought tobacco promotion in student newspapers to an end. On June 19, 1963, the Tobacco Institute formally decided to pull its advertising from student media. American Tobacco Company, R.J. Reynolds, Lorillard, and Liggett and Myers all agreed to discontinue their cigarette advertising immediately. During the meeting of the Tobacco Institute, Paul Smith of Phillip Morris said that their company had not made a decision on the question of college advertising.⁴⁷³ Phillip Morris was the last cigarette advertiser to remove its cigarette promotions from *The Orange and White*. The code did not formally go into effect until 1964. Consequently, the final Marlboro sponsored Max Shulman column was printed in *The Orange and White* on November 26, 1963. It was the very last cigarette advertisement to be printed in the student newspaper at The University of Tennessee.

Research Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research:

Although this research endeavored to present the topic of cigarette advertising in the college press as completely as possible, there are some areas where the present study falls short. First, the research only studied the student newspaper at the University of Tennessee. Even though the cigarette industry's media records suggests that the same advertisements were printed in nearly every college newspaper, college media sales organizations such as NEAS and CBAM suggest that schools with larger enrollments receive more national advertisements than smaller schools. Therefore, it is possible that the research presented in

⁴⁷³ Temko, S.L. "The Tobacco Institute, Inc. Minutes of the Eighteenth Meeting of the Executive Committee". 18 Jun 1963 (est.). Bates: 2022975647-2022975650. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/pm/2022975647-5650.html>

this study is not representative of smaller colleges and universities. In addition, it is also possible that religious schools also might have rejected the cigarette advertising because certain denominations consider smoking to be a vice. Thus, it might prove to be helpful to compare the cigarette advertising at a large school like the University of Tennessee with tobacco advertising that was printed at smaller or private colleges.

In addition, one could argue that because the University of Tennessee is located in the southeastern United States, which is the primary tobacco-growing region, it would be a more fertile environment for cigarette advertising. Therefore, comparing the frequency of cigarette advertising at the University of Tennessee with another institution of similar size outside of the southeast could prove helpful. However, industry documents do suggest that it is likely that regional differences would be minimal.

Another possible limitation of the study is that very little information regarding the creative inspiration behind the advertising campaigns is accessible for research. Interviewing the advertising creatives and the tobacco marketers that inspired the various campaigns would be extremely useful to furthering this line of research. However, because the advertisements are between 44 and 86 years old, and because few records exist regarding the creative teams, this information would be nearly impossible to find for the majority of the campaigns.

Presentism is also a limitation of this research. It is difficult to examine cigarette advertising without considering all of the information that has become publicly available since 1963. Of course, the audience that read these advertisements did not have all of the information about smoking and viewed the habit very differently than most people do today. Therefore, the way that these advertisements are considered in 2007 is much different than they would have been considered 44 to 86 years ago. Perhaps future research could interview

people who were students when these advertisements were printed to get a more accurate perspective on how these advertisements were interpreted when they were printed.

However, because of the age of some of the advertisements, it is unlikely that participants could be found to discuss the earlier decades.

Another area of study that could be explored more fully is the influence of tobacco representatives or sales people on campus and their role in persuading students to smoke. This research and other studies have reported that the cigarette industry used professional sales representatives and students to promote cigarette smoking on campus. There are still many unanswered questions regarding the techniques and objectives used in this area. Likewise, research suggests that the tobacco industry lobbied public relations and public information officers on college and university campuses to create a tobacco friendly atmosphere for students. More information could be learned about these efforts and how successful the tobacco industry was in its persuasive efforts to sway college administrators.

Even though this research has its limitations, it does present a first glance into how cigarette manufacturers targeted college students by advertising in student newspapers such as *The Orange and White*. This study provides the reader with a general idea regarding the frequency of cigarette advertising in student newspapers, the persuasive strategies and tactics that were used, as well as some popular creative themes and approaches that were devised to appeal to students from 1921 to 1963. Instead of providing definitive answers to questions about the influence of the tobacco industry on campus, it is hoped that this research will compel others to ask more questions about this subject. In many ways, this research seems like a starting point rather than the end for a particular stream of research.

Conclusion:

In conclusion, this dissertation provides the reader with a glimpse into a relatively unknown world. Very little research in advertising or history makes any reference to the presence of tobacco on college and university campuses from the 1920s to the 1960s. This research provided insights into the strong presence of cigarette advertising in student publications on college and university campuses, using *The Orange and White* as a case study. It is hoped that this research will help reveal how and why generations of America's young adults and youth became attracted to cigarette smoking and, eventually, addicted to nicotine.

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APPENDIX

Figures:

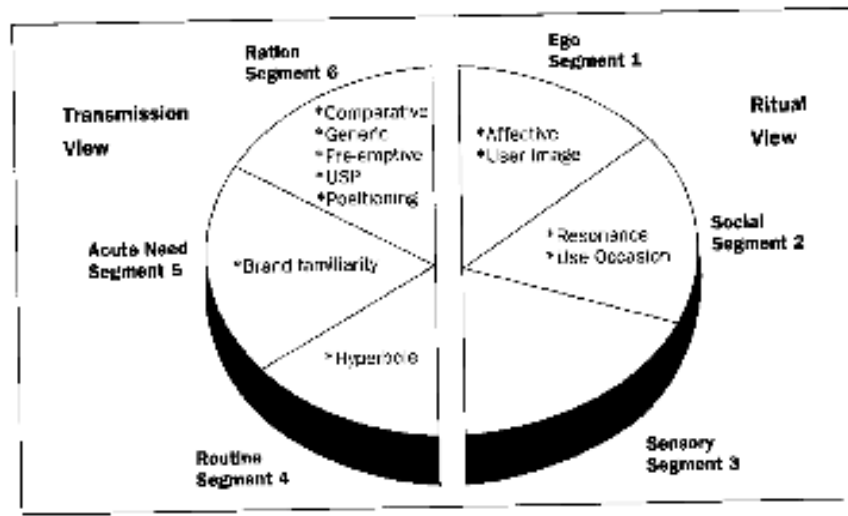


Figure 1: Taylor's Strategy Wheel

Figure 2: Graph

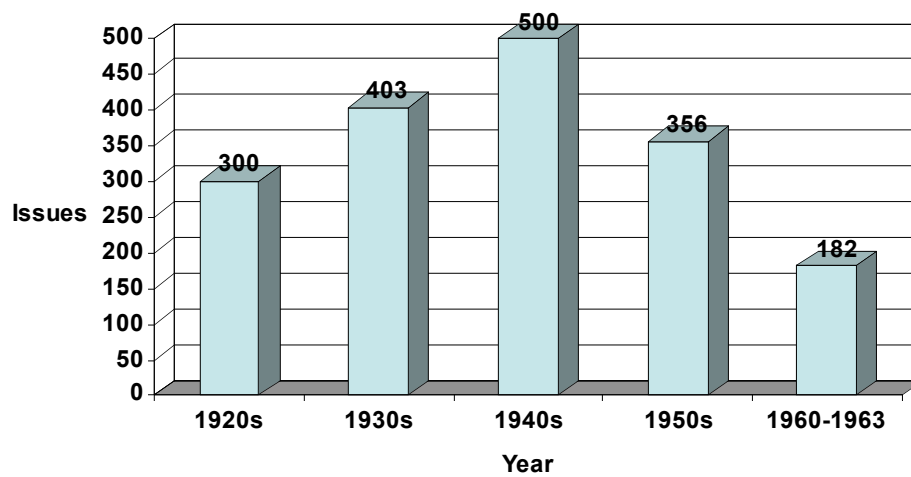


Figure 2: Issues Published Each Decade From 1920-1963

Figure 3: Graph

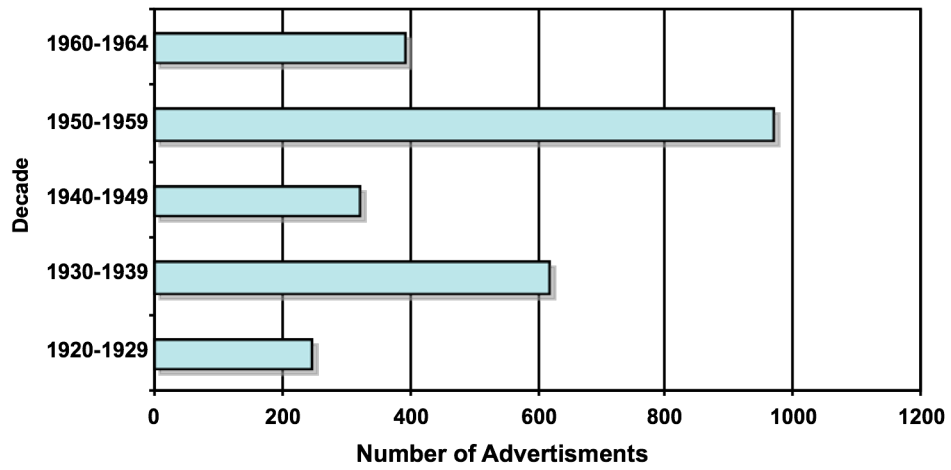


Figure 3: Advertisements by Decade

Figure 4: Graph

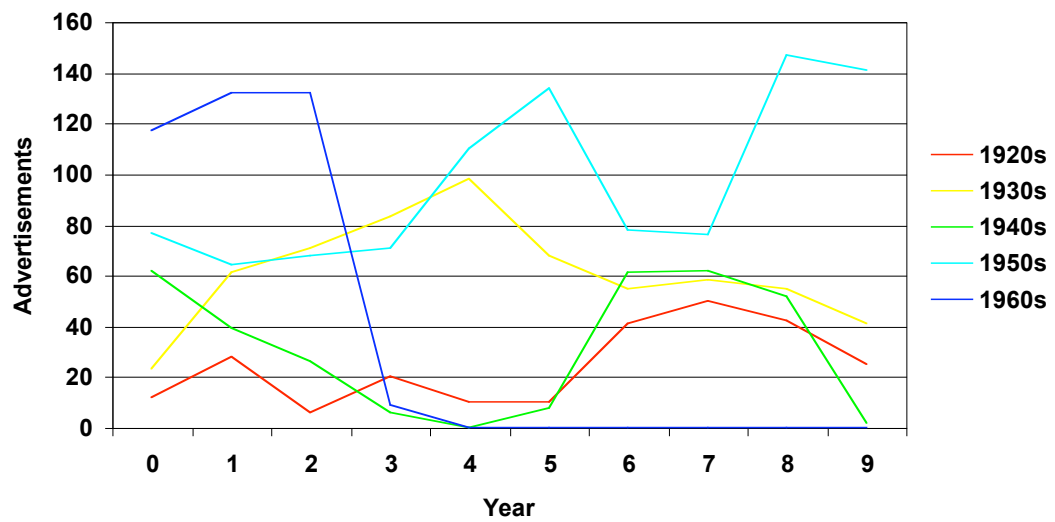


Figure 4: Total Number of Cigarette Advertisements by Decade

Figure 5: Graph

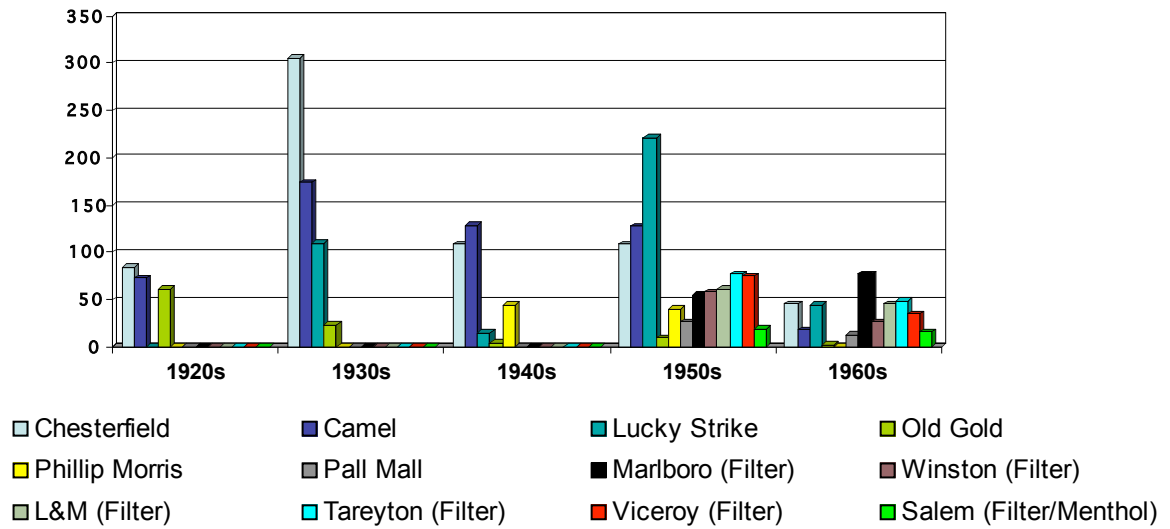


Figure 5: Top 12 Cigarette Advertisers 1920s-1960s

Figure 6: Graph

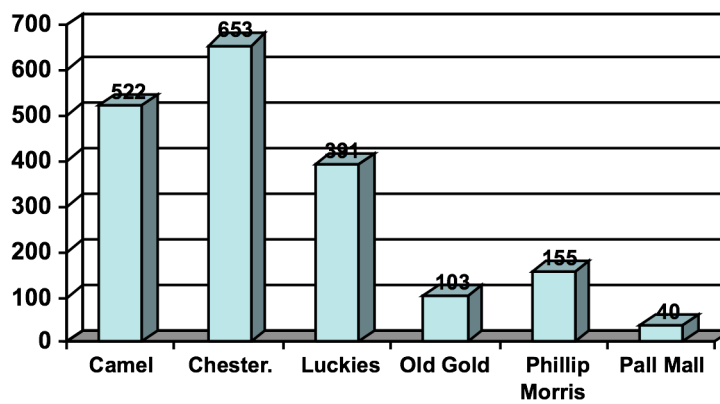


Figure 6: Major Cigarette Advertisers 1920s-1960s (Unfiltered)

Figure 7: Graph

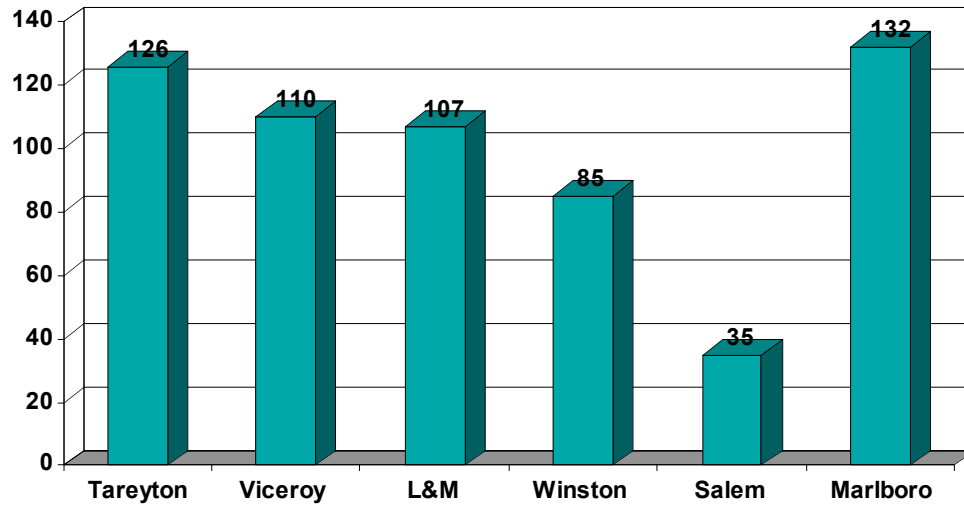


Figure 7: Major Cigarette Advertisers 1920s-1960s (Filtered)

Figure 8: Graph

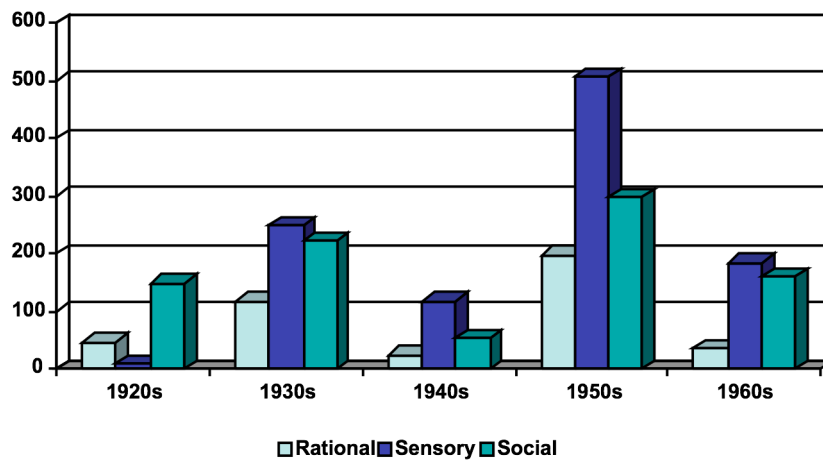


Figure 8: Creative Strategy – 1920s-1960s

Figure 9: Graph

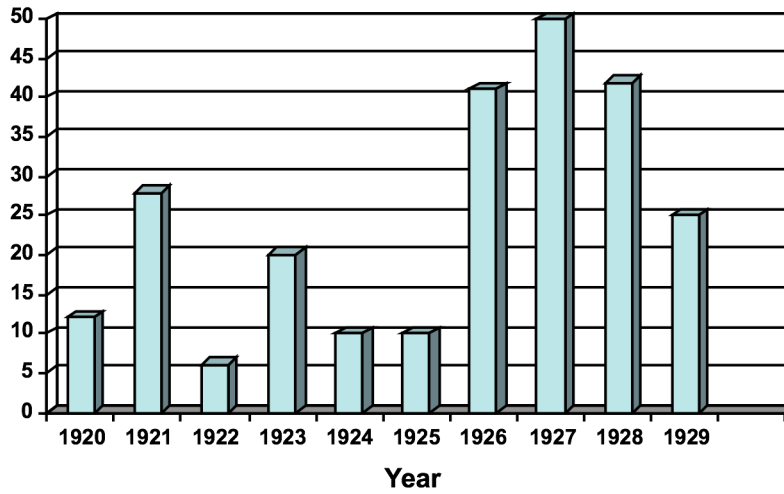


Figure 9: Number of Cigarette Advertisements 1920-129

Figure 10: Graph

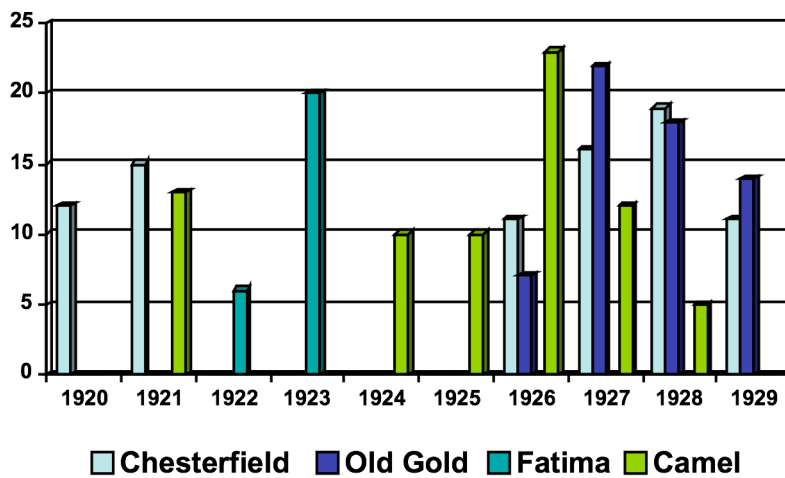


Figure 10: Brands Advertised During the 1920s

Figure 11: Pie Chart

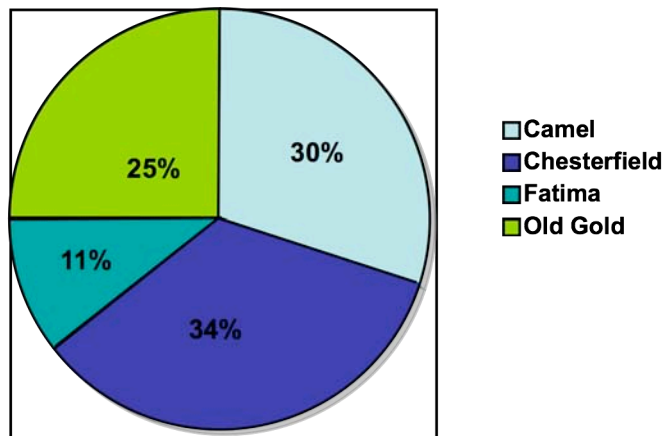


Figure 11: Cigarette Brands by Percent – 1920s

Figure 12: Graph

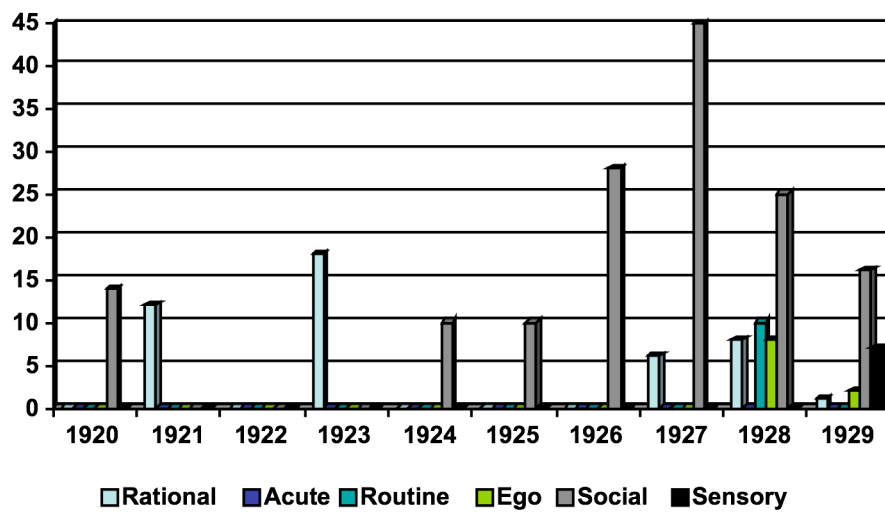


Figure 12: Creative Strategy During the 1920s

Figure 13: Pie Chart

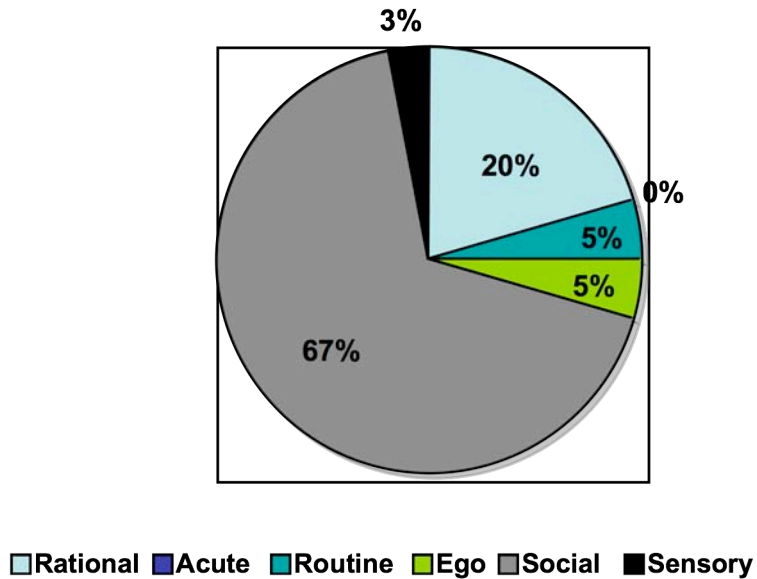


Figure 13: Creative Strategies by Percent

Figure 14: Graph

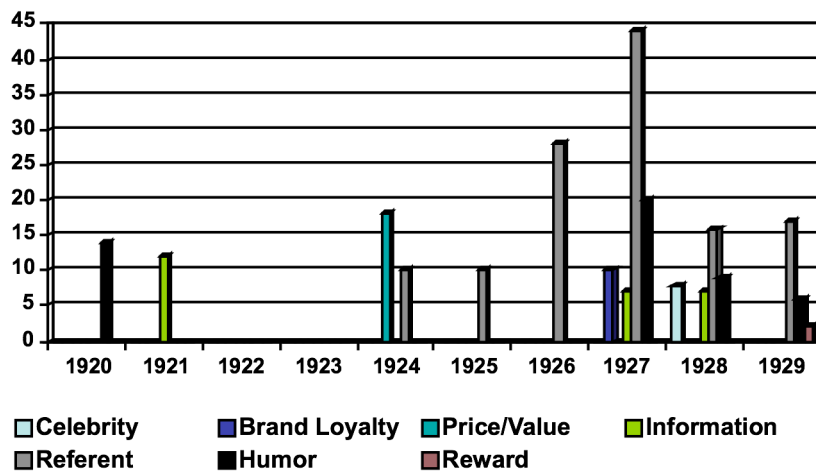


Figure 14: Persuasive Appeals and Tactics – 1920s

Figure 15: Pie Chart

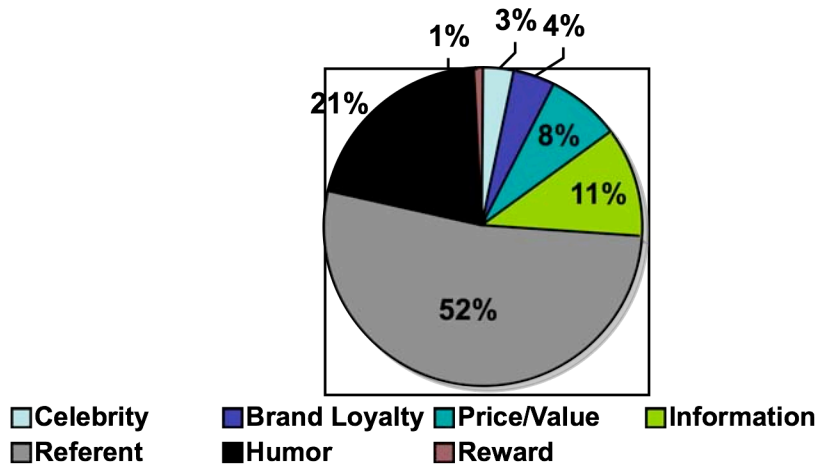


Figure 15: Appeals and Tactics by Percent – 1920s

Figure 16: Graph

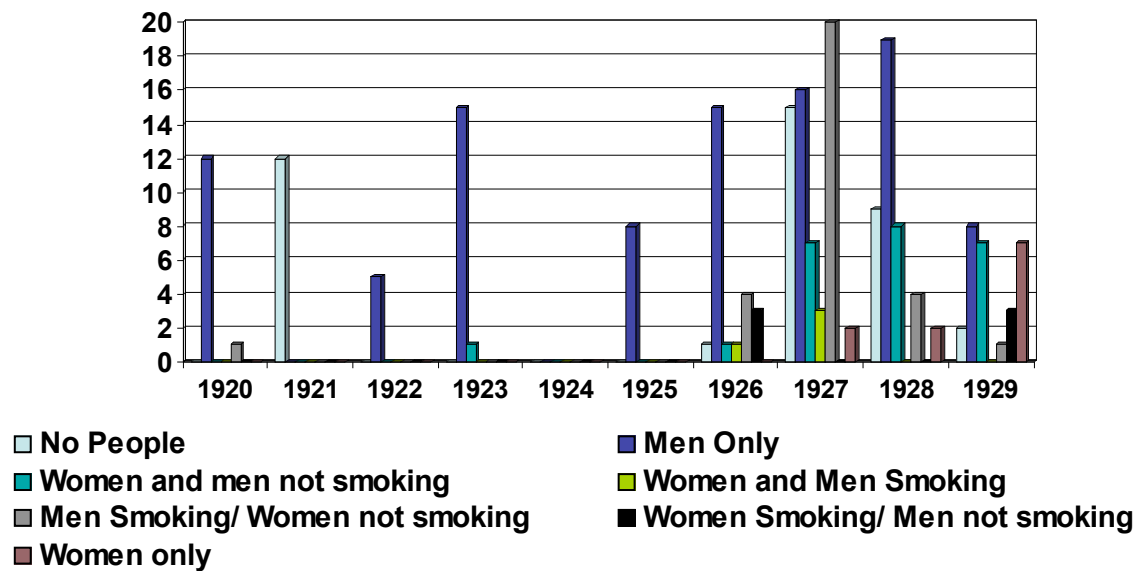


Figure 16: Men and Women in Advertisements in the 1920s

With advertisement in L. C. B.

"I smiled- and he shot me"



AFTER MONTHS and more-
MY WIFE persuaded me,
TO HAVE a film,
SO I went around
TO THE photographer
AND GOT SAGERS
WHEN THE picture came,
I showed it down to a gang
OF AMATEURS not unlike
AND PROFESSIONAL critics
DISGUISED AS STUDS.
WHO FAVORED me
WITH SUCH remarks as
"GODBURY" the Jack seemed!"
"HANG IT ALL!"
"A GREAT production!"
AND THAT night one
MADE ME sure
SO WHEN FILMS WERE
ADDED HERE local
I TRIED again.
THIS TIME they were great,
FOR HERE it was supposed
THE PHOTOGRAPHY was
"LOOK THIS way, please!"
AND HELD up something
AS HE pushed the button,
AND NO one could help
BUT LAUGH himself.
FOR WHAT he had up
WAS A NEW and fresh
OF THE "CUTTING"
THAT SATURDAY



In packages of 10 presented
to you in a most good
manner. Also in round
and square tin of 10.

Chesterfield

CIGARETTES

They Satisfy

Figure 17: Chesterfield 1921⁴⁷⁴

The natural choice—

Out of the whole lot men pick
Chesterfield for its genuine tobacco
character—its *natural* good taste.



Get the natural character of fine tobacco in your cigarette—and you get everything!

Chesterfield

They Satisfy—and yet, they're MILD

LORETT & MYERS TOBACCO CO.

Figure 18: Chesterfield 1927⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷⁴ *Orange and White*, March 10, 1921

⁴⁷⁵ *Orange and White*, April 7, 1927

*"I'd rather have a
Chesterfield!"*



It is considered the height of bad form, they say, to carry your own sandwiches to a tea—or to pack your own blanket for the week-end—but, luckily, no such outlandish conventions surround the smoking of your own cigarette. "I'd rather have a Chesterfield," fortuitously, is a phrase which not only remains "good cricket" in polite circles—but at the same time brands the smoker as a person of rare

discernment and excellent discrimination. And small wonder, considering all the remark implies. Good taste, top quality, the rare sparkle of tobacco goodness—all these virtues so justify the choice of that man who thus shows his keen judgment. "I'd rather have 2 Chesterfields"—a neat line, that—the mark of a real connoisseur and the password of six million smokers.

CHESTERFIELD
MILD enough for anybody... and yet... THEY SATISFY

Figure 19: Chesterfield 1928⁴⁷⁶

**Everything for QUALITY
—nothing for show**

THAT'S OUR IDEA in making
CAMELS—the Quality Cigarette


Why, just buy Camels and look at the package! It's the best packing science has devised to keep cigarettes fresh and full flavored for your taste. Heavy paper outside—secure foil wrapping inside and the revenue stamp over the end to seal the package and keep it air-tight.

And note this! There's nothing flashy about the Camel package. No extra wrappings that do not improve the smoke. Not a cent of needless expense that must come out of the quality of the tobacco.

Camels wonderful and exclusive Quality wins on merit alone.

Because, men smoke Camels who want the taste and fragrance of the finest tobaccos, expertly blended. Men smoke Camels for Camels smooth, refreshing mildness and their freedom from cigarette aftertaste.

Camels are made for men who think for themselves.



Camel

R. J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO COMPANY, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Figure 20: Camel 1921⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁶ *Orange and White*, October 26, 1928

⁴⁷⁷ *Orange and White*, October 20, 1921

*When silvery
moonlight falls on town and
field—and the long, joyous
tour home is ready to begin
—have a Camel!*

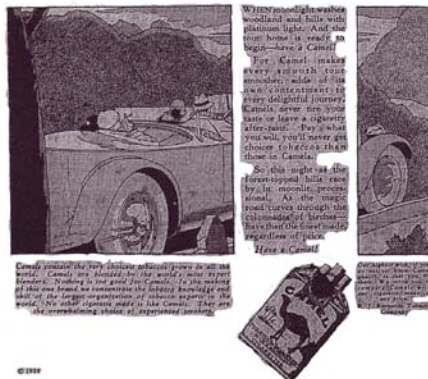


Figure 21: Camel 1926⁴⁷⁸



Figure 22: Camel 1927⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁸ *Orange and White*, April 15, 1926

⁴⁷⁹ *Orange and White*, January 23, 1927


It's your opinion
that interests us be-
cause we make
Camels for you to
smoke and enjoy

CAMEL

CIGARETTES


WHY CAMELS ARE THE BETTER CIGARETTE

*The world's largest group of tobacco experts...
one brand... one quality... one size package
... everything concentrated on Camel goodness.
The smoothness and mildness of Camels are pos-
sible only through the use of choicest tobaccos.
The most skilful blending gives Camels an in-
dividuality of taste that is beyond imitation.
They have a mellowness that you have never
known in any other cigarette, regardless of price.
Camels never tire your taste or leave an un-
pleasant after-taste.*



© 1929 R. J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO
Company, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Figure 23: Camel 1929⁴⁸⁰



*Day in
and day out/*

FATIMA

Figure 24: Fatima 1923⁴⁸¹

⁴⁸⁰ *Orange and White*, May 16, 1929

⁴⁸¹ *Orange and White*, April 11, 1923



Figure 25: Pears' Soap 1911⁴⁸²

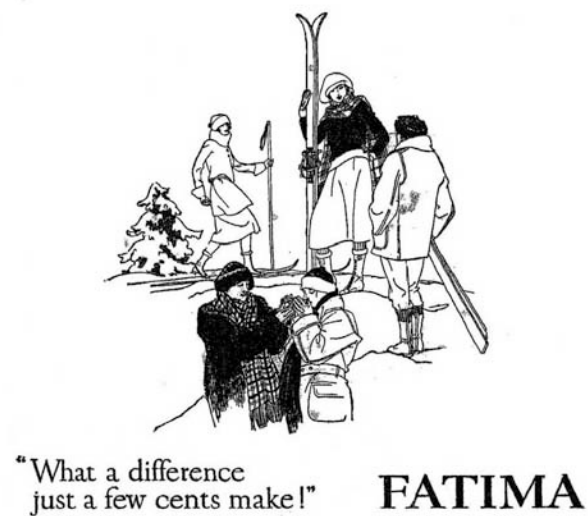


Figure 26: Fatima 1924⁴⁸³

⁴⁸² *Overland Monthly*, April 1911

⁴⁸³ *Orange and White*, January 31, 1924

Somebody Is Always Taking the Joy Out of Life By BRIGGS

THE PRETTIEST GIRL YOU EVER SAW ARRIVES AT A VACATION RESORT AND YOU MAKE UP YOUR MIND YOU MUST KNOW HER.

AFTER YOU ARE INTRODUCED, YOU FIND OUT HER AUNT SOPHIE IS ALWAYS AROUND AND NEVER LETS THE GIRL OUT OF HER SIGHT.

AFTER A WHOLE WEEK YOU FIND THE OPPORTUNITY TO PERSUADE THE SWEET YOUNG CREATURE TO SIT OUT IN THE SUMMER HOUSE (OR PERGOLA) AND WATCH THE MOON RISE.

AND AUNT SOPHIE MISSING—HER CHARGE, GOES SCOUTING ALL OVER THE PREMISES FOR HER.

AND SHE SWOOPS THROUGH THE SUMMER HOUSE, BUT MISSES YOU IN THE DARKNESS, UNTIL YOU SUDDENLY COUGH AND SPOIL EVERYTHING—

AND THE GIRL CUTS YOU OFF HER LIST BECAUSE YOU DON'T SMOKE OLD GOLD

OLD GOLD
The Smoother and Better Cigarette
... not a cough in a carload

Old Gold CIGARETTES
THE TREASURE OF THE PALACE
15¢

© 1927, P. Lorillard Co., Inc. 1927

Figure 27: Old Gold 1927⁴⁸⁴

Blindfolded . . . in scientific test of leading Cigarettes, Mrs. Reginald C. Vanderbilt selects **OLD GOLD**



"I wonder if one can really tell the difference, when blindfolded," was my first thought when invited to make this test.

"After smoking two four brands, as they were handed to me one after another, I discovered there was one that was noticeably smoother than the others and richer in taste.

"This proved to be an Old Gold. I hope I shall be able to buy them in Paris . . . they are surprisingly free from any trace of throat irritation and have a delightful aroma which to me is very important."

Reginald C. Vanderbilt

How Test Was Made

Mrs. Vanderbilt was blindfolded, and as the presence of two responsible witnesses, was given one each of the four leading cigarette brands. . . . In that the to be, coffee was served before each cigarette. . . . Mrs. Vanderbilt was unaware of the identity of the cigarette being smoked. . . . After smoking the four cigarettes, Mrs. Vanderbilt was asked to designate her number.



Figure 28: Old Gold 1928⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁴ *Orange and White*, October 1, 1927

⁴⁸⁵ *Orange and White*, May 27, 1928



Figure 31: Old Gold 1930⁴⁸⁸



Figure 32: Old Gold 1930⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁸ *Orange and White*, March 6, 1930

⁴⁸⁹ *Orange and White*, May 1, 1930

Figure 33: Graph

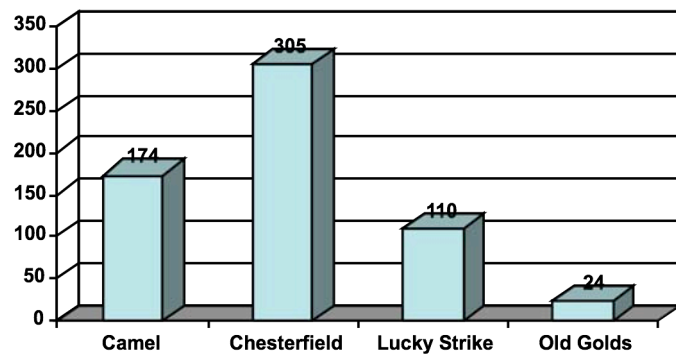


Figure 33: Total Cigarette Advertisements by Brand – 1930

Figure 34: Graph

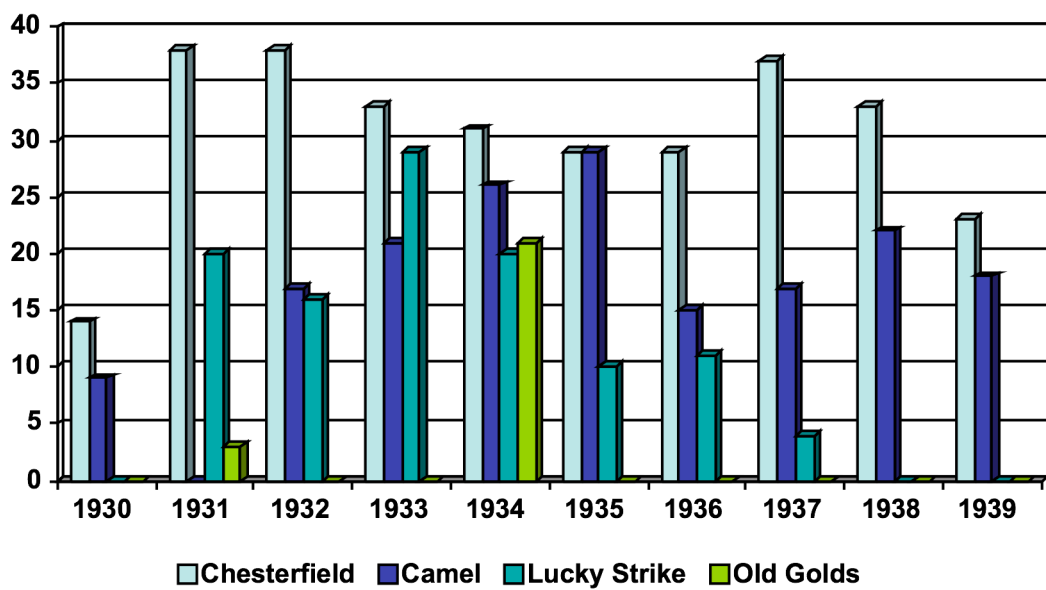


Figure 34: Brands of Cigarettes – 1930s

Figure 35: Graph

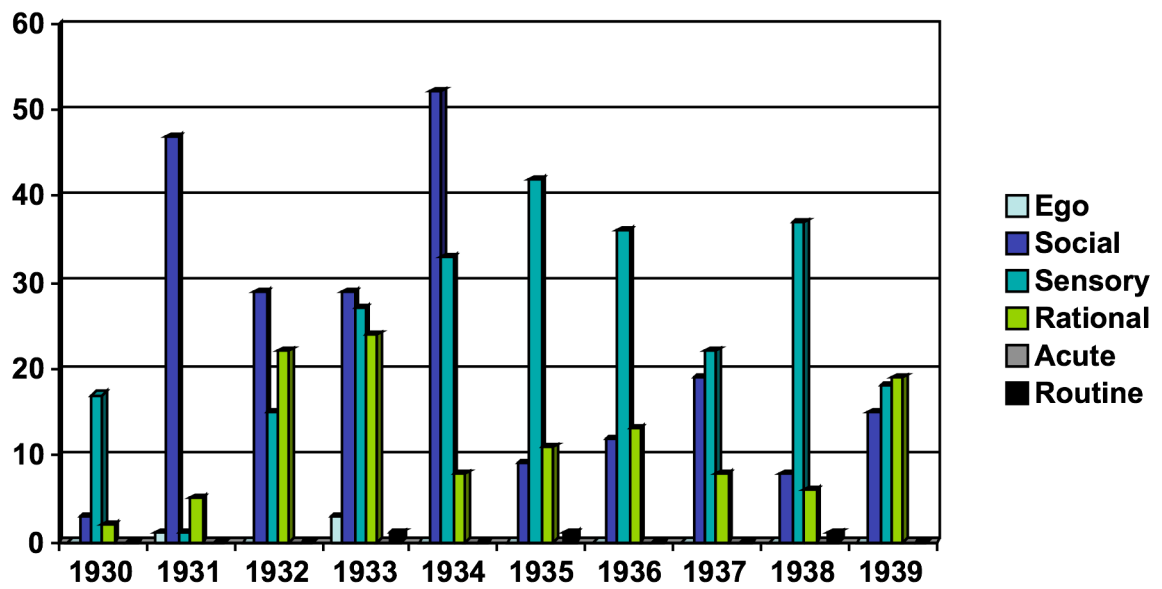


Figure 35: Creative Strategy by Year – 1930s

Figure 36: Pie Chart

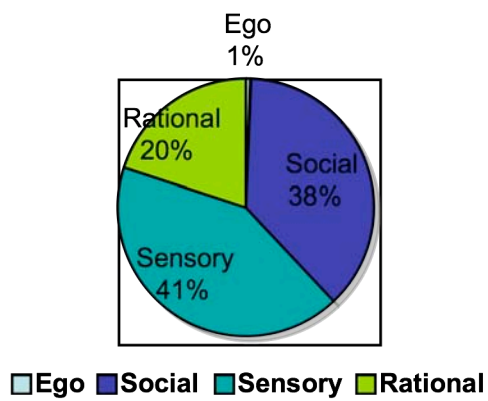


Figure 36: Creative Strategy by Percent – 1930s

Figure 37: Graph

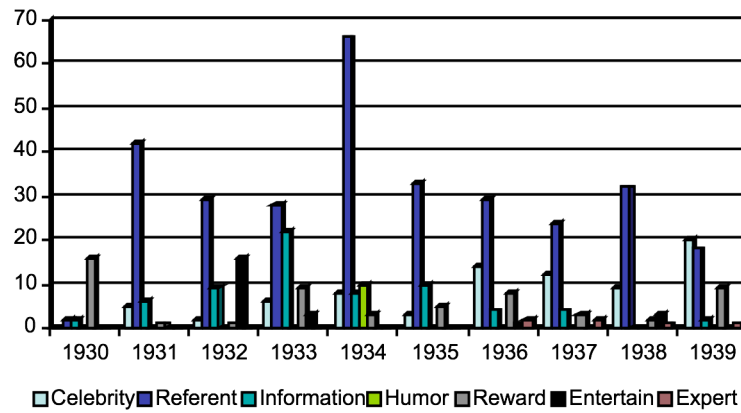


Figure 37: Advertising Tactics by Year – 1930s

Figure 38: Pie Chart

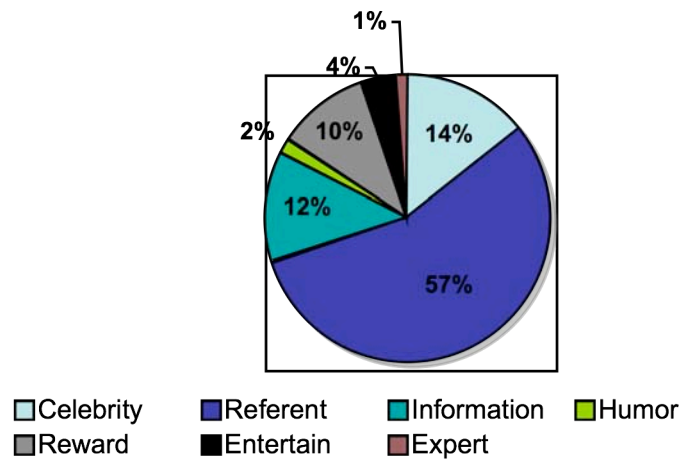


Figure 38: Advertising Tactics by Percent – 1930s

Every Package now a Humidor

CARRIZO, N. M. now gets Camels in as prime condition as Vienna/Salem, the cigarette capital of the world. Camels that leave our factory are now wrapped in moisture-proof, airtight Cellophane which acts as a humidor and keeps the natural moisture in.

Peppery tobacco dust and harsh moisture-robbled tobacco are what sting the tongue and

burn the throat. Thanks to our patented vacuum cleaning apparatus and the new Humidor Pack everybody, everywhere, can enjoy the Camel blend of fine Turkish and mellow Domestic tobaccos in prime, fresh condition.

Switch to Camels today then leave them tomorrow, if you can.

R. J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO CO.
Pine Bluff, N. C.



Figure 39: Camel 1931⁴⁹⁰

\$50,000 Paid to Winners of CAMEL CONTEST!

R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company takes pleasure in announcing that the decisions of Judges CHARLES DANA GIBSON, BEN W. HOWARD and BEN LLOYD, in the \$50,000 Camel Prize Contest have been reached and that prizes accordingly have been awarded as follows:

First Prize, \$25,000

JAMES THOMAS "HARRY" 181 Tenth Street, Dorchester, Mass.

Second Prize, \$10,000

WILLIAM WILFRED, 100 York Street, Boston, N. Y.

Third Prize, \$5,000

JOHN R. M. SMITH, 100 York Street, Boston, N. Y.

5 Prizes of \$1,000 each

JOHN R. M. SMITH, 100 York Street, Boston, N. Y.

JOHN R. M. SMITH, 100 York Street, Boston, N. Y.

JOHN R. M. SMITH, 100 York Street, Boston, N. Y.

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JOHN R. M. SMITH, 100 York Street, Boston, N. Y.

JOHN R. M. SMITH, 100 York Street, Boston, N. Y.



Figure 40: Camel 1931⁴⁹¹

⁴⁹⁰ Orange and White, April 23, 1931

⁴⁹¹ Orange and White, May 21, 1931

Man!
They've hit it *this* time!



YOU'RE hearing it all around you.
You've probably said it yourself.
Throughout the whole country, people not only are smoking Camel cigarettes in the new Humidor Pack, they're saying how good they are!
They're delighting in a new mildness, an aroma and fragrance found only in Camels. They're hearing how much *smooth* and enjoyment is locked up in fine Turkish and

refined Domestic tobacco expertly blended, warmly dressed and properly conditioned. They're grateful for new cleanliness! Natural moisture, that's what does it! Factory-fresh Camels, air-sealed in the new sanitary package, which keeps the dust and germs out and keeps the flavor in. Don't take our word for it—try Camels in the new Humidor Pack, and switch back if you can. Then you'll see why the whole nation is saying:

"SMOKE A fresh CIGARETTE"
Camels
IN THE HUMIDOR PACK

Figure 41: Camel 1932⁴⁹²

HOUDINI'S MILK CAN ESCAPE

**IT'S FUN TO BE FOOLED
...IT'S MORE FUN TO KNOW**

**NO TRICKS...
...JUST COSTLIER
TOBACCO**

CAMELS

Figure 42: Camel 1933⁴⁹³

⁴⁹² *Orange and White*, April 21, 1932

⁴⁹³ *Orange and White*, January 20, 1933

CAMELS MONEY-BACK OFFER STILL OPEN TO COLLEGE SMOKERS!

Read Our Invitation to You
Smoke 10 regular Camels. If you don't find them the mildest, best-tasting cigarettes you ever smoked, return the package with the rest of the cigarettes in it to us in any time within a month from this date, and we will refund your full purchase price, plus postage.

(Signed) R. J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO COMPANY
REYNOLDSVILLE, N.C.

YOU'LL LIKE THEM TOO!

... We who make Camels and know Camel's quality are confident you'll like them! Camels are made from **COSTLIER TOBACCOS!**

Camels must please you, or they cost you Nothing!

Figure 45: Camel 1936⁴⁹⁶

"THEY DON'T GET YOUR WIND" ATHLETES SAY

So mild, athletes smoke as many as they please—and that's real mildness!

GOOD NEWS!

SO MILD YOU CAN SMOKE ALL YOU WANT!

Camels COSTLIER TOBACCOS!

Figure 46: Camel 1936⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁶ *Orange and White*, February 15, 1936

⁴⁹⁷ *Orange and White*, February 15, 1936



Figure 47: Camel 1937⁴⁹⁸

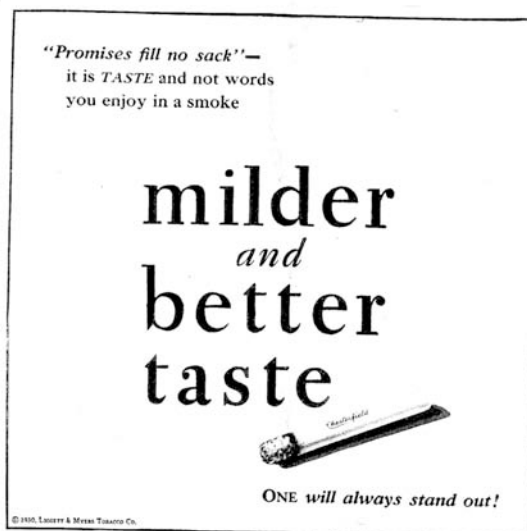
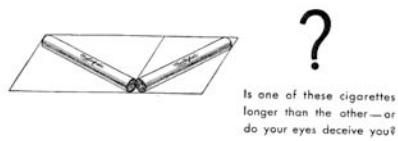


Figure 48: Chesterfield 1930⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁸ *Orange and White*, May 14, 1937

⁴⁹⁹ *Orange and White*, October 16, 1930



**YOUR EYES MAY FOOL YOU
BUT
YOUR TASTE *tells the Truth!***

MILDER... AND
BETTER TASTE



*They
Satisfy*

Figure 49: Chesterfield 1931⁵⁰⁰



When Turkish tobacco grows

in small leaves on slender stalks—so be tenderly picked, leaf by leaf, hung in long fragrant strings, shelter-dried and blanket-cured. Precious stuff!

Let's taste that delicate aromatic flavor—that subtle difference that makes a cigarette!



XANTHI... CAVALLA... SMYRNA

...SAMSOUN... famous tobaccos!

*Turkish tobacco is so different what smoking it is food—the "spice," the "sauce"—not what else, every corner is so different! You can taste the Turkish in Chesterfield—there's enough of it, that's why Chesterfield has not been using with this important addition to good taste and aroma, four famous kinds of Turkish leaf—Xanthi, Cavalla, Samsoun and Smyrna—go into

the smooth, "spicy" Chesterfield blend. This is just one more reason for Chesterfield's reputation. Tobacco from the end of the world, the best of their world kinds—and the right kinds. And pure, smooth cigarette paper, the purest made. The more cigarettes of a milder, better smoke, complex!

That's why they're GOOD—they've got to be and they are.



© 1931, LOUETT & NORMAN TOBACCO CO.

Figure 50: Chesterfield 1931⁵⁰¹

⁵⁰⁰ *Orange and White*, January 29, 1931

⁵⁰¹ *Orange and White*, October 22, 1931

"I was afraid Grandfather would be *Shocked*..

"HE'S rather a busy old darling,
and I didn't know how he'd
like the idea of my smoking."
"The first time I lit a Chesterfield
he went to him, he smiled like an
old war horse...and I heard myself
for smoke. But all he said was,
"That's good tobacco, Chickadee!"
"You know Grandfather raised
tobacco in his younger days, so he
knows what's what. I don't feel
...but I do know that Chesterfields
are milder. It's wonderful to be
able to smoke whenever you want,
with no fear you'll smoke too many."

"And it doesn't take a tobacco
expert to prove that Chesterfield
tobacco is better. They taste bet-
ter...that's proof enough. Never
was more. No matter when I smoke
them...or how many I smoke...
they always taste exactly right."
"They must be absolutely pure...
even to the paper which doesn't
taste at all. In fact...as the ads
say...*"They Satisfy!"*"



Winning in the First National 1932 Advertising Contest...the best and most appealing advertisement

CHESTERFIELD'S
TASTE PREFERENCE
The National Cigarette and
Tobacco Association's annual
taste preference poll, which
has been held since 1927, has
shown that Chesterfield has
won every year since 1927.

THEY'RE Milder • THEY'RE Pure • THEY TASTE BETTER • *They Satisfy*

Figure 51: Chesterfield 1932⁵⁰²

*Tell me
something..*
what makes
a cigarette
taste better

WHAT makes anything taste
better? It's what is in it
that makes a thing taste better.
CHESTERFIELD taste better be-
cause we buy ripe tobacco. These
ripe tobacco are aged two and a
half years—thirty months. During
this time the tobacco improves—
just like wine improves by aging.
CHESTERFIELD taste better be-
cause they have the right kind of
home grown tobacco and Turkish
Tobacco "mildly selected."
We hope this answers your
question.

Chesterfield
the cigarette that's Milder
the cigarette that TASTES BETTER

Figure 52: Chesterfield 1933⁵⁰³

⁵⁰² *Orange and White*, February 19, 1932
⁵⁰³ *Orange and White*, January 3, 1933



Figure 53: Chesterfield 1934⁵⁰⁴



Figure 54: Chesterfield 1935⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰⁴ *Orange and White*, April 29, 1934

⁵⁰⁵ *Orange and White*, May 17, 1935



Figure 55: Chesterfield 1936⁵⁰⁶



Figure 56: Chesterfield 1937⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁶ *Orange and White*, April 3, 1936

⁵⁰⁷ *Orange and White*, April 1, 1937



Figure 57: Chesterfield 1937⁵⁰⁸



Figure 58: Chesterfield 1938⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁸ *Orange and White*, December 3, 1937

⁵⁰⁹ *Orange and White*, October 19, 1938

*America's
CHOICE*

... the HAPPY COMBINATION (blend) of American and Turkish tobaccos in Chesterfield which gives millions more smoking pleasure.

Chesterfield combines in rare degree qualities you'll find in no other cigarette. In Chesterfield you'll find refreshing mildness... better taste... more pleasing aroma. Its can't-be-copied blend ... a combination of the world's best cigarette tobaccos... brings out the finer qualities of each tobacco.

When you try them you will know why Chesterfields give millions of men and women more smoking pleasure... why THEY SATISFY

Chesterfield
...the blend that can't be copied
...the RIGHT COMBINATION of the world's best cigarette tobaccos

They Satisfy

MARYLIN MONROE, of Motion, Ohio, chosen as the country's most beautiful girl of the year

Copyright 1938, LUCY & MARY TOWSON CO.

Figure 59: Chesterfield 1938⁵¹⁰

Oh! You Lucky Tab!!

MOISTURE-PROOF CELLOPHANE
Sealed Tight—Ever Right

The Unique HUMIDOR PACKAGE

Zip—
and it's open!

See the new notched tab on the top of the package. Hold down one half with your thumb. Tear off the other half. Simple. Quick. Zip! That's all. Unique! Wrapped in dust-proof, moisture-proof, germ-proof Cellophane. Clean, protected, moist. FRESH—what could be more moist than LUCKY'S improved humidior package—so easy to open! Later—the LUCKY tab is your finger and thumb!

Made of the finest tobaccos—the Crown of many Crops—LUCKY STRIKE alone offers the throat protection of the exclusive "TOASTING" Process which includes the use of modern Ultra Violet Rays in the process that expels certain biting, harsh irritants naturally present in every tobacco leaf. These expelled irritants are not present in your LUCKY STRIKE. "Toasted" as they only be so! No wonder LUCKIES are always kind to your throat.

"It's toasted"
Your Throat! Protection—against irritation—against cough
And Moisture-Proof Cellophane keeps that "Toasted" Flavor Ever Fresh

LUCKY STRIKE
"IT'S TOASTED"
CIGARETTES

Figure 60: Lucky Strike 1931⁵¹¹

⁵¹⁰ *Orange and White*, January 18, 1939

⁵¹¹ *Orange and White*, October 29, 1931



Figure 63: Lucky Strike 1934⁵¹⁴



Figure 64: Lucky Strike 1934⁵¹⁵

⁵¹⁴ *Orange and White*, January 26, 1934

⁵¹⁵ *Orange and White*, October 5, 1934

WHEN ALL ELSE FAILS *I'm your best friend*



I am your Lucky Strike

I am a friend indeed. A better friend than others, because I am made only of mild, fragrant, expensive center leaves. I don't permit a single sharp

top leaf nor a single coarse bottom leaf to mar my good taste or my uniform mildness. I am a soothing companion, the best of friends.

LUCKIES ARE ONLY THE CENTER LEAVES
CENTER LEAVES GIVE YOU THE MILDDEST SMOKE

They Taste Better

Figure 65: Lucky Strike 1935⁵¹⁶

Margaret Sullivan
says Luckies are the answer for
her throat



"I am not sure which is more critical—a Broadway audience or the movie microphones. At any rate, whether in Hollywood or New York, an actress has to be certain that her performances are always up to the peak. And that means being careful of the voice and throat. That's why, though I enjoy smoking thoroughly, I try to use judgment in the cigarette I choose. When I first began smoking, Luckies were my choice, because I found this light smoke admirable for my throat. And that's as true today as ever. Luckies are still my standby."

Margaret Sullivan

An independent survey was made recently among professional men and women—lawyers, doctors, lecturers, scientists, etc. Of those who said they smoke cigarettes, more than 87% stated they personally prefer a light smoke.

Miss Sullivan verifies the wisdom of this preference, and so do other leading artists of the radio, stage, screen and opera. Their voices are their fortunes. That's why so many of them smoke Luckies. You, too, can have the throat protection of Luckies—a light smoke, free of certain harsh irritants removed by the exclusive process "It's Toasted". Luckies are gentle on the throat.



THE FINEST TOBACCO—
"THE CREAM OF THE CROP"

A Light Smoke
"It's Toasted"—Your Throat Protection
AGAINST IRRITATION—AGAINST COUGH

Figure 66: Lucky Strike 1937⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁶ *Orange and White*, February 15, 1935

⁵¹⁷ *Orange and White*, April 11, 1937

KEEP KISSABLE

WITH
OLD GOLDS

Charming women are first won by OLD GOLDS' appealing taste. But their enthusiasm doubles when they find that OLD GOLDS do not taint the breath or mar the whiteness of pearly teeth.

That's because OLD GOLD is a pure-tobacco cigarette. Made from the finest nature-flavored tobacco. So good, it needs no added flavoring.

It's "foreign flavoring," not good tobacco... that leaves unwanted aftermaths. Play safe. Smoke pure-tobacco O.G. They leave nothing behind but pleasant recollections.

SEALED IN MOISTURE-PROOF Cellophane
NOT A COUGH IN A CARLOAD

NO ARTIFICIAL FLAVORS TO TAINT THE BREATH... OR STAIN THE TEETH

Figure 67: Old Gold⁵¹⁸

THE THROAT-EASE CIGARETTE

© P. Lorillard Co., Inc.

"My throat is my fortune... that's why I smoke Old Golds" says Bing Crosby

Figure 68: Old Gold 1934⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁸ *Orange and White*, October 13, 1932

⁵¹⁹ *Orange and White*, October 5, 1934

Figure 69: Graph

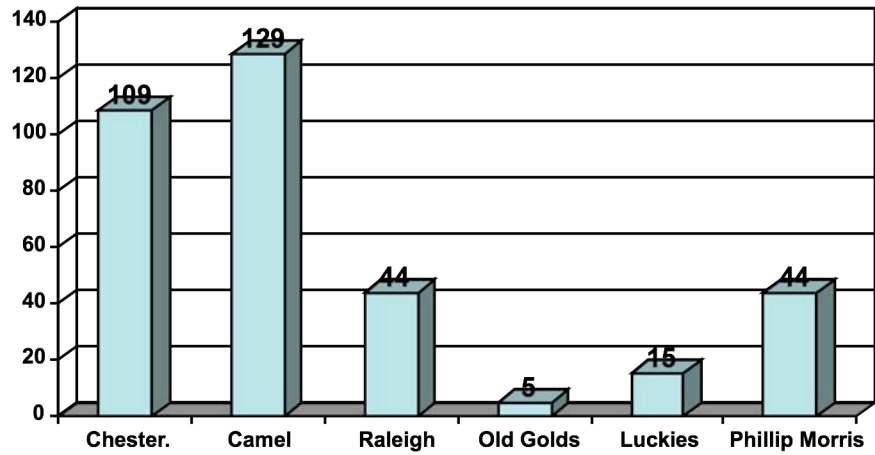


Figure 69: Frequency of Cigarette Advertising by Brand

Figure 70: Graph

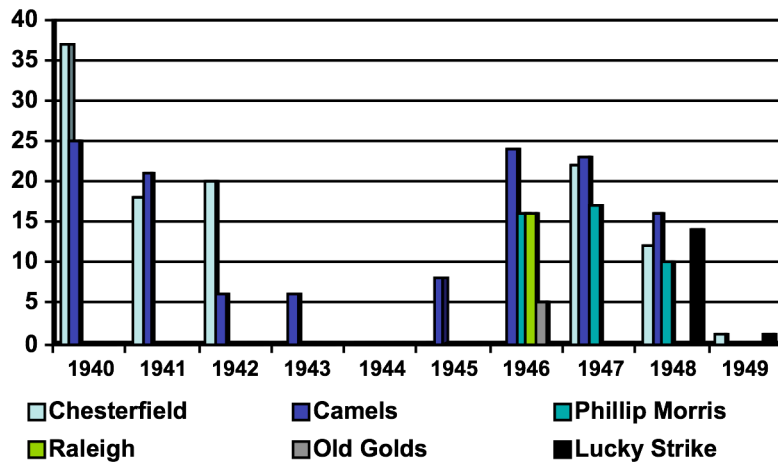


Figure 70: Cigarette Advertisements by Brand - 1940s

Figure 71: Graph

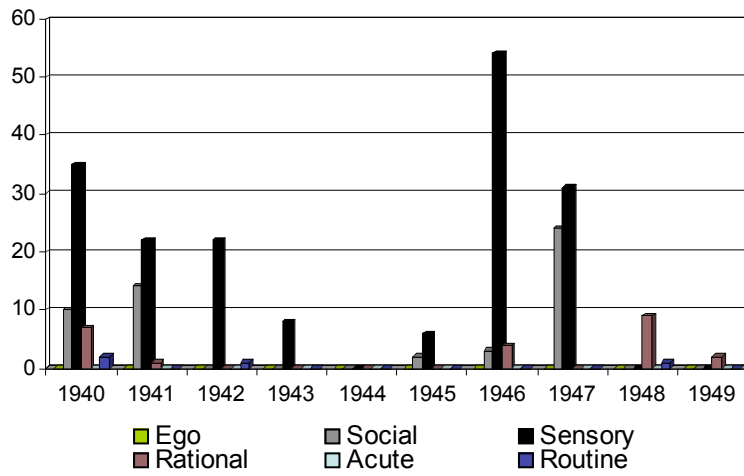
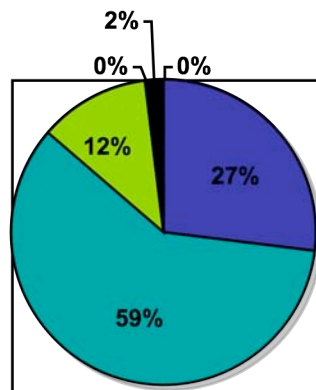


Figure 71: Strategy by Brand 1940s

Figure 72: Pie Chart



■ Ego
 ■ Social
 ■ Sensory
 ■ Rational
 ■ Acute
 ■ Routine

Figure 72: Strategy by Percent

Figure 73: Graph

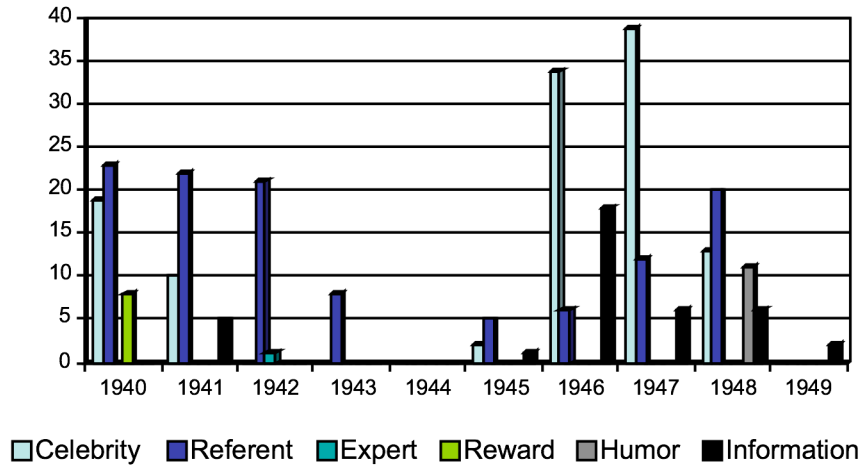


Figure 73: Advertising Tactics - 1940

Figure 74: Pie Chart

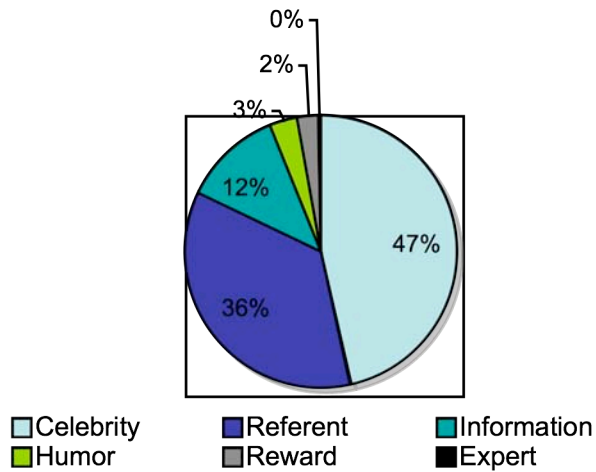


Figure 74: Tactics by Percent

**YOU NEVER SEE HIM—BUT HIS EXTRA SKILL
FLIES WITH YOU EVERY MILE!**

WILLIAM H. MILLER—Flight Supt., American Airlines



THIS **ARCHMAGE** above is his cockpit—his Bill Miller sits at many as 100 planes a day. North, south, east, and west from New York's LaGuardia Field take extra **skill** right, his radio console directs the flying route of *American*'s flagships. Pilot, navigator, engineer, traffic controller all in one—yet, flight instructor: Bill Miller is a man with the extra—a man who gets the smoking extra...in CAMELS.

For CAMEL's mildness and slow way of burning give you more than mildness...they give you extra skill and confidence with a CAMEL that holds its speed right through the last extra puff. CAMELS also give you extra smoking **PER PACK** (see right).

EXTRA MILDNESS
EXTRA COOLNESS
EXTRA FLAVOR

In recent laboratory tests, CAMELS burned 28% slower than the average of the 15 other of the longest-selling brands tested—slower than any of them. That means, on the average, a smoking **PER PACK** to you.

5 EXTRA SMOKES PER PACK!

GET THE "EXTRAS" WITH SLOWER-BURNING
CAMELS—THE CIGARETTE OF COSTLIER TOBACCOS

Figure 75: Camel 1940⁵²⁰

**THE SMOKE OF SLOWER-BURNING CAMELS GIVES YOU
EXTRA MILDNESS, EXTRA COOLNESS, EXTRA FLAVOR**

AND

**28%
LESS
NICOTINE**

than the average of the 4 other largest-selling brands tested—less than any of them—according to independent laboratory tests of the smoke itself.

FLASH FROM SUN VALLEY!
Evelyn Dutton
Figure-Skating Star

Resisting spin, slide, jump, twist, a girl in every girl's eye Evelyn Dutton has shown the world how to skate. She skates, but she does it with the grace of a ballerina. She skates, but she does it with the grace of a ballerina. She skates, but she does it with the grace of a ballerina.

ONE SMOKE AND YOU'VE WON A GOOD DEAL.
THE EXTRA MILDNESS IN SLOWER-BURNING CAMELS IS IMPORTANT TO YOU. NOT THE FLAVOR IS SO GRAB!

IF YOU HEAT AT ALL, then you know that every cigarette has a certain amount of heat. But the average cigarette gives you heat at all. The slow-burning Camel gives you heat at all. The slow-burning Camel gives you heat at all.

BY BURNING 28% SLOWER than the average of the 4 other largest-selling brands tested—less than any of them—according to independent laboratory tests of the smoke itself.

THE SMOKE'S THE THING!

CAMEL THE SLOWER-BURNING CIGARETTE

Figure 76: Camel 1941⁵²¹

⁵²⁰ *The Orange and White*, November 8, 1940

⁵²¹ *The Orange and White*, February 14, 1941

"Mother, Mother, Mother" **WHAT A RECORD! ★**
 BERYL DAVIS'S NEW DISC FOR RCA VICTOR

★ It's a groovy group of notes—done to a turn by one of the top of the new crop of singers.
 Yes, Beryl Davis knows how to pick a tune... knows how to pick a cigarette too. "I tried many different brands and compared," says Beryl Davis—"I found Camels suit me best."
 That's how millions learned from experience that there are big differences in cigarette quality. Try Camels in your "T-Zone" (Taste and Throat). Let your own experience tell you why more people are smoking Camels than ever before!

THE CIGARETTE FOR ME IS CAMEL!

More people are smoking CAMELS than ever before!

Figure 79: Camel 1947⁵²⁴

30-DAY SMOKING TEST PROVES CAMEL MILDNESS!

- 1** In a recent test, hundreds of men and women all across the country... of all ages and occupations... were closely observed as they smoked Camels—and only Camels—for 30 consecutive days. And they smoked on the average of one to two packages of Camels a day. But only Camels!
- 2** Every week throughout this dramatic 30-day test, their throats were carefully examined by noted specialists—a total of 2470 exacting examinations. And among all these smokers, these famous throat specialists found not one single case of throat irritation due to smoking Camels!
- 3** Prove it yourself. In your "T-Zone"—T for Taste and T for Throat. Smoke Camels for 30 days. Let **YOUR OWN TASTE** tell you about the full, rich flavor of Camel's choice tobaccos. Let **YOUR OWN THROAT** tell you the story of Camel's cool mildness. Yes, prove for yourself that there's

NO THROAT IRRITATION DUE TO SMOKING CAMELS!

Prove it Yourself!
Make the Camel 30-Day Test in Your "T-Zone"

Money-Back Guarantee!
 Smoke Camels for 30 consecutive days. Smoke only Camels. If, at any time during these 30 days, you are not convinced that Camels are the mildest cigarette you have ever smoked, return the package with the unused Camels and we will refund your full purchase price, plus postage. This offer is good for 90 days from this date.
 (Signed) R. J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO COMPANY, WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

According to a Nationwide survey: MORE DOCTORS SMOKE CAMELS than any other cigarette
 Doctors smoke for pleasure, too! And when three leading independent research organizations asked 113,597 doctors what cigarette they smoked, the brand named most was Camel!

Figure 80: Camel 1948⁵²⁵

⁵²⁴ *The Orange and White*, October 2, 1947

⁵²⁵ *The Orange and White*, October 8, 1948



Figure 81: Chesterfield 1940⁵²⁶



Figure 82: Chesterfield 1941⁵²⁷

⁵²⁶ *The Orange and White*, November 29, 1940

⁵²⁷ *The Orange and White*, March 21, 1941



Figure 83: Chesterfield 1943⁵²⁸



Figure 84: Chesterfield 1944⁵²⁹

⁵²⁸ *The Orange and White*, April 18, 1943

⁵²⁹ *The Orange and White*, April 14, 1944



Figure 85: Chesterfield 1946⁵³⁰



Figure 86: Chesterfield 1946⁵³¹

⁵³⁰ *The Orange and White*, January 11, 1946

⁵³¹ *The Orange and White*, January 11, 1946



Figure 87: Chesterfield 1948⁵³²



Figure 88: Phillip Morris 1943⁵³³

⁵³² *The Orange and White*, October 8, 1948

⁵³³ *The Orange and White*, October 23, 1943

We're tobacco men... not medicine men... **OLD GOLDS** are made for enjoyment!

Frankly, we're bewildered as you are by all the hoop-la about laboratories, tests, and medical claims. We agree: a cigarette is supposed to give you pleasure. Period.

And your pleasure is the sole aim of the advanced scientific techniques we use in the making of OLD GOLDS... the best, deepest, richest smoking pleasure you've ever found in a cigarette!

If that's what you're after... if top-quality tobacco at the peak of flavor are your idea of a perfect cigarette... then OLD GOLDS are your answer. Try 'em—for pleasure's sake!



If you want a **TREAT**
instead of a **TREATMENT**
...smoke **O.G.s!**

Made by L. & W. Gold, a genuine name in tobacco for nearly 100 years

Figure 89: Old Gold 1947⁵³⁴

WHI-SH-SH-SH-SH !!

"It's Moisturized"

TO TASTE BETTER!
TO STAY FRESH LONGER!
TO SMOKE Milder!

New! ALL New!

RALEIGH "903"

TYRONE POWER

Medical Science offers
PROOF POSITIVE
No other leading cigarette gives you
Less Nicotine
Less Throat Irritants

Tests certified by a jury of
14 distinguished doctors

New Blend! New Taste!
New Freshness!

Made by the revolutionary new
"903" moisturizing process.
Beneficial moisture penetrates
every tobacco leaf—gives you
a smoother, milder, better
smoke! Get new Raleigh "903"
Cigarettes today.

Figure 90: Raleigh 1947⁵³⁵

⁵³⁴ *The Orange and White*, March 12, 1947

⁵³⁵ *The Orange and White*, January 17, 1947

Figure 91: Line Graph

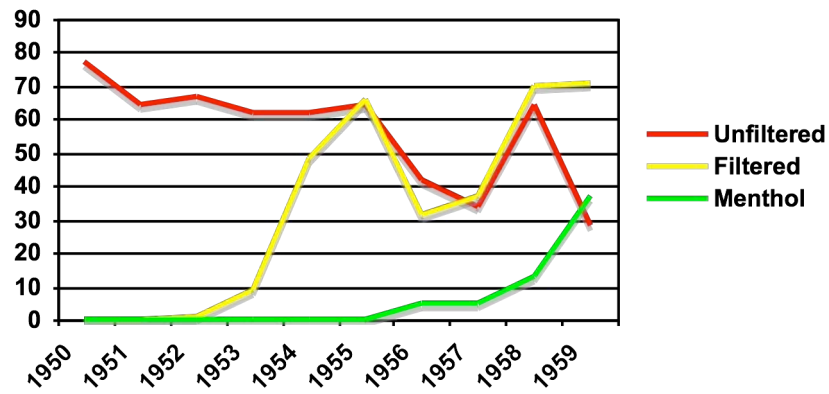


Figure 91: Comparison of Advertising Across Three Classes of Cigarettes

Primary Unfiltered Cigarette Advertisers - 1950s

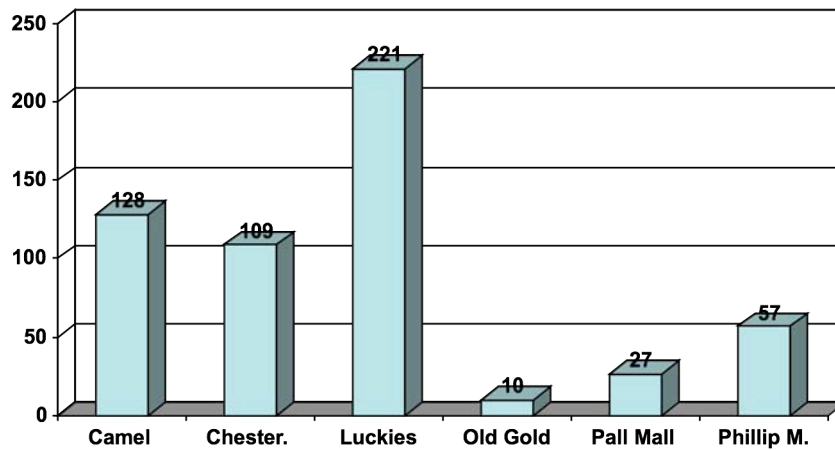


Figure 92: Primary Unfiltered Cigarette Advertisers

Figure 93: Bar Graph

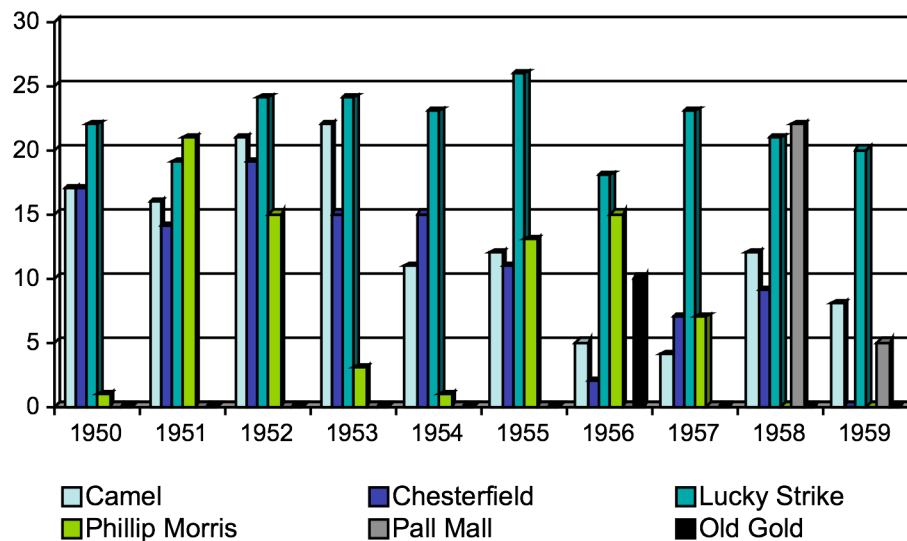


Figure 93: Frequency of Advertising for Unfiltered Brands – 1950s

Figure 94: Graph

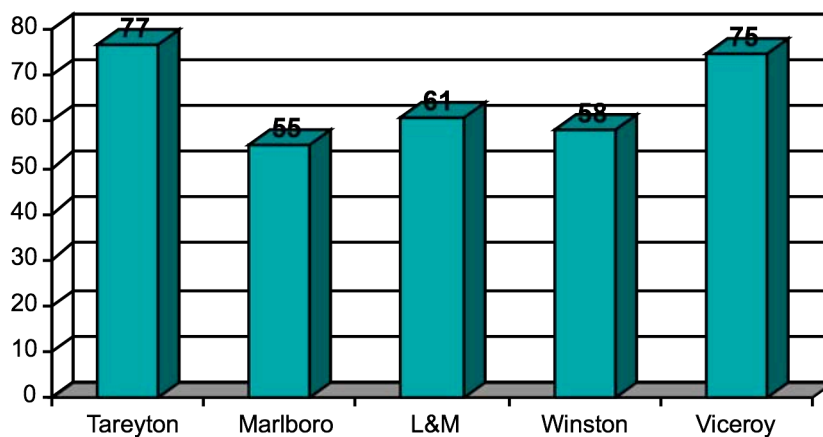


Figure 94: Primary Advertisers for Filtered Cigarettes – 1950s

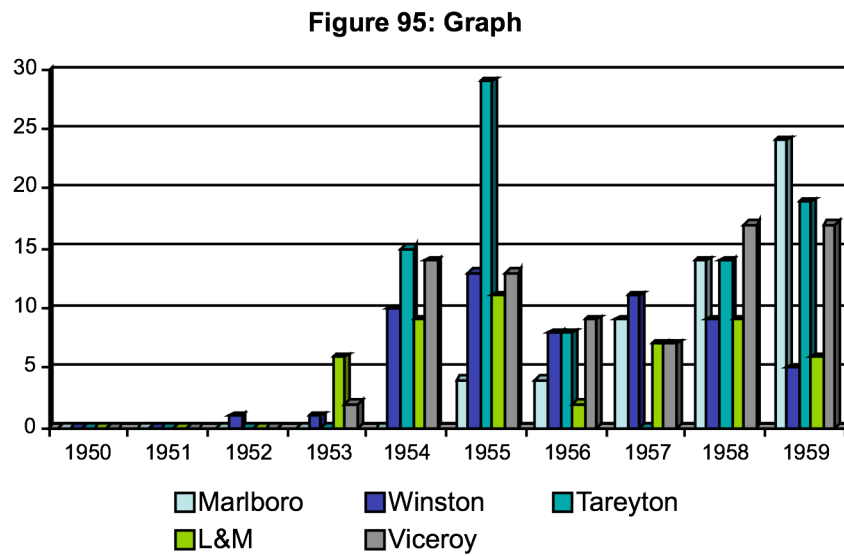


Figure 95: Advertisers for Filtered Cigarette Brands – 1950s

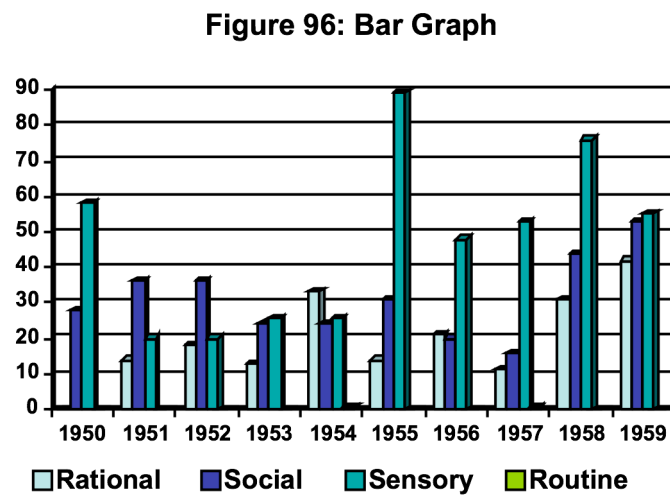


Figure 96: Creative Strategy by Year – 1950s

Figure 97: Pie Chart

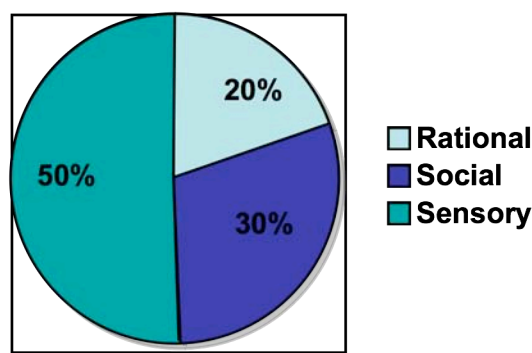


Figure 97: Creative Strategy by Percent - 1950s

Figure 98: Graph

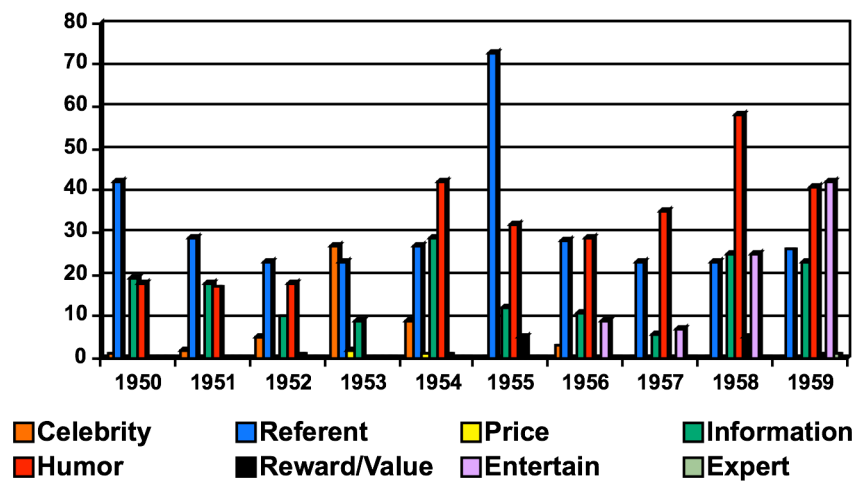


Figure 98: Creative Tactics by Year – 1950s

Figure 99: Pie Chart

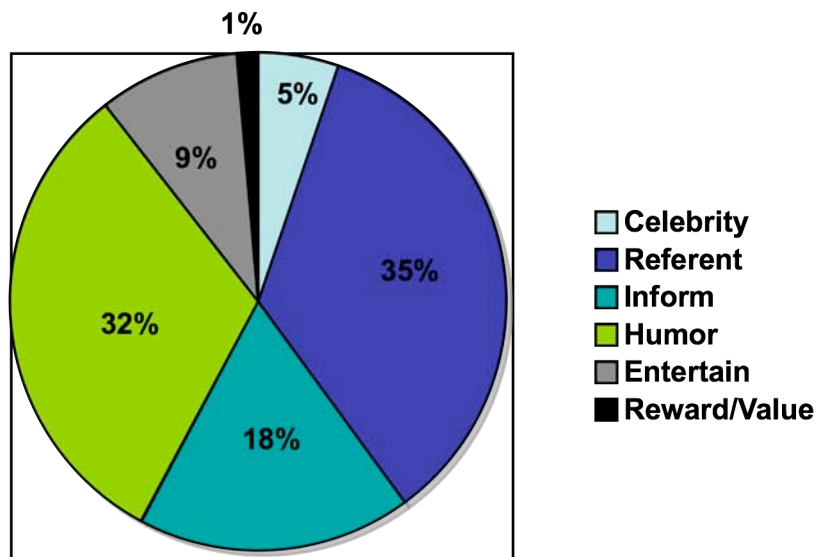


Figure 99: Creative Tactics by Percent



Figure 100: Lucky Strike 1952⁵³⁶

⁵³⁶ *The Orange and White*, October 2, 1952



Figure 101: Lucky Strike 1954⁵³⁷



Figure 102: Lucky Strike 1954⁵³⁸

⁵³⁷ *The Orange and White*, April 15, 1954

⁵³⁸ *The Orange and White*, October 4, 1954

C'MON POODLE, LET'S DROODLE!

WHAT'S THIS? For solution, see paragraph below.

LUCKY STRIKE
CIGARETTES

IT'S TOASTED
to taste better!

Students! EARN \$25.00!

Get together to see the Lucky Strike contest. For every 100 cigarettes you buy, you'll get a Lucky Strike card. Collect 100 cards and you'll win \$25.00! (See paragraph below for details.)

CONFUSION BEGINS in the Droodle above. (Poodle above, titled, switchboard operated by almost-minded Lucky smoker. Poor girl's been swamped by too many phone calls. But she isn't confused about better taste—she smokes Luckies. Luckies taste better, first of all, because Lucky Strike means fine tobacco. Then "It's Toasted" to taste even better... cleaner, fresher, smoother. Switch to Lucky Strike yourself. You'll say it's the best-tasting cigarette you ever smoked—and you won't have your wine crossed, either.

DRINKING
One Drink
Any Drink
Any Drink

SMOOTH
Tobacco Blend
Los Angeles City College

SALE—80% OFF
Chicago City College
Henderson State U.C.

FLYING SAUCER
CRASHING THROUGH SKY
Lucky Strike
Sweet Location

LUCKIES TASTE BETTER - Cleaner, Fresher, Smoother!

MADE IN U.S.A. PRODUCT OF The American Tobacco Company - AMERICA'S LEADING MANUFACTURERS OF CIGARETTES

Figure 103: Lucky Strike 1954⁵³⁹

It's rhyme time! With a fresh batch of

Sticklers!

HERE'S A STICKLER! WHAT WOULD YOU CALL A LUCKY STRIKE PACK?
(SEE PARAGRAPH BELOW)

WHAT'S THE LATEST thing in college clothes? Packs of Luckies, naturally. So if you've got a pack in your pocket, you're right in style. That explains the answer to the Stickler—it's *Dapper Wrapper*! Luckies are always in good taste because they're made of fine tobacco—light, naturally good-tasting tobacco that's **TOASTED** to taste even better. (See a pack? Stick it—with Luckies! You'll say they're the best-tasting cigarette you ever smoked!

WHAT IS A STICKLER?
Rhyme Time

WHAT IS A STICKLER?
Rhyme Time

WHAT IS A STICKLER?
Rhyme Time

WHAT IS A STICKLER?
Rhyme Time

WHAT IS A STICKLER?
Rhyme Time

STUDENTS! MAKE \$25

Do you like to earn money? Here's how easy money starts sticking! We'll pay \$25 for every pack you give us—and for 100 more that never get used. Sticklers are always in good taste with successful rhyming answers. Stick to the most popular rhyme of all: "Rhyme Time". That's the answer! Send your Sticklers with your name, address, college, and class to: *Sticklers*, P.O. Box 1018, Mount Vernon, N.Y.

LUCKY STRIKE
CIGARETTES

"IT'S TOASTED"
to taste better!

Luckies Taste Better
CLEANER, FRESHER, SMOOTHER!

MADE IN U.S.A. PRODUCT OF The American Tobacco Company - AMERICA'S LEADING MANUFACTURERS OF CIGARETTES

Figure 104: Lucky Strike 1956⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁹ *The Orange and White*, October 4, 1954

⁵⁴⁰ *The Orange and White*, November 2, 1956

**Number 15...THE LONG-WATTLED
UMBRELLA BIRD**



... *But only Time will Tell* ...

THE MAN SAID IN 48 HOURS THERE WOULDN'T BE A MOUSE IN THE HOUSE!

LOOK AT THOSE CLAWS! A VERITABLE TIGER OF THE FELIS GO-GETTER TYPE!

GO GET 'EM TIGER! I KNOW YOU CAN DO IT!

HO-HUM! HOW CAN THEY TELL SO SOON? HE LOOKS CHEESY TO ME!

ONLY TIME WILL TELL HOW GOOD A "MOUSER" IS. AND ONLY TIME WILL TELL ABOUT A CIGARETTE! TAKE YOUR TIME! MAKE THE SENSIBLE 30-DAY CAMEL MILDNESS TEST. SEE HOW CAMELS SUIT YOU AS YOUR STEADY SMOKE!

CAMEL leads all other brands
by billions of cigarettes per year!

Test CAMELS
for 30 days
for Mildness and Flavor

CAMELS are America's most popular cigarette. To find out why, test them as your steady smoke. Smoke only Camels for thirty days. See how rich and flavorful they are — pack after pack! See how mild CAMELS are — week after week!



© J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., Winston-Salem, N. C.

270

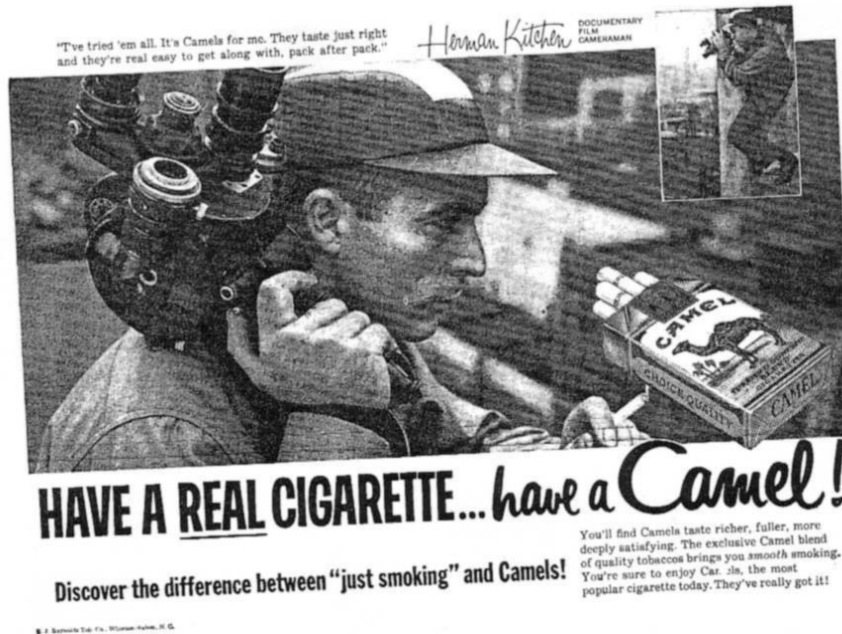


Figure 109: Camel 1956⁵⁴⁵



Figure 110: Camel 1958⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁵ *The Orange and White*, November 2, 1956

⁵⁴⁶ *The Orange and White*, November 7, 1958



Figure 111: Chesterfield 1950⁵⁴⁷

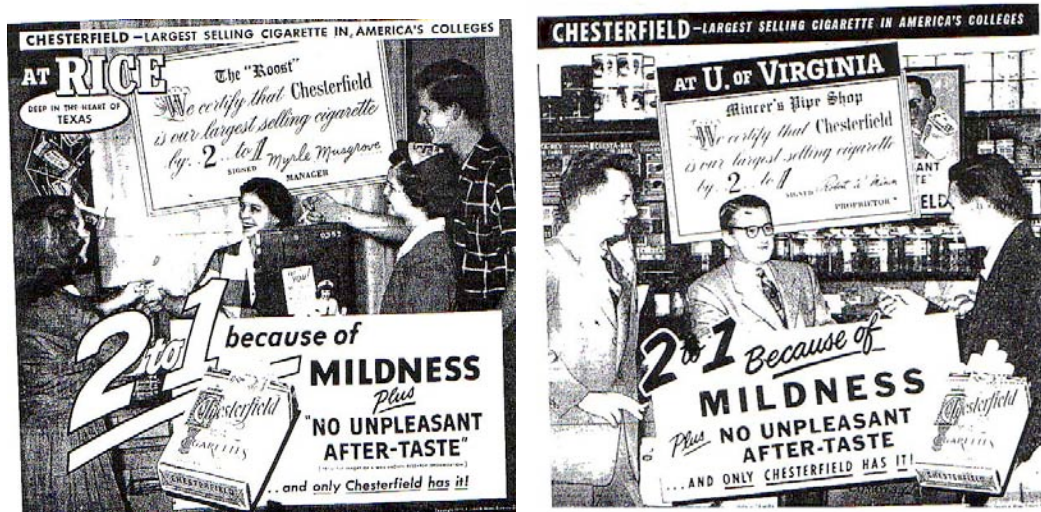


Figure 112: Chesterfield 1951⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁷ *The Orange and White*, October 18, 1950

⁵⁴⁸ *The Orange and White*, October 17, 1951 and November 7, 1951

**FIRST SUCH REPORT EVER PUBLISHED
ABOUT ANY CIGARETTE**

The medical specialist, after a thorough examination of every member of the group, stated: "It is my opinion that the ears, nose, throat and accessory organs of all participating subjects examined by me were not adversely affected in the six-months period by smoking the cigarettes provided."



Today's
CHESTERFIELD
is the Best Cigarette
Ever Made!



"Chesterfields for Me!"
Ray Anthony Musician

The cigarette with a proven good record with smokers. Here is the record. An impartial examination of a group of smokers who saw no adverse effects to them, throat and sinuses from smoking Chesterfield.



"Chesterfields for Me!"
Lucille Bolter Nat. 6

The cigarette that gives you proof of highest quality-low nicotine. For the taste and mildness you want—smoke America's most popular 7-mv. cigarette



**Largest
Selling Cigarette
in America's
Colleges**

CHESTERFIELD
BEST FOR YOU

⁵⁵⁰ *The Orange and White*, April 29, 1954



Figure 115: Chesterfield 1954⁵⁵¹

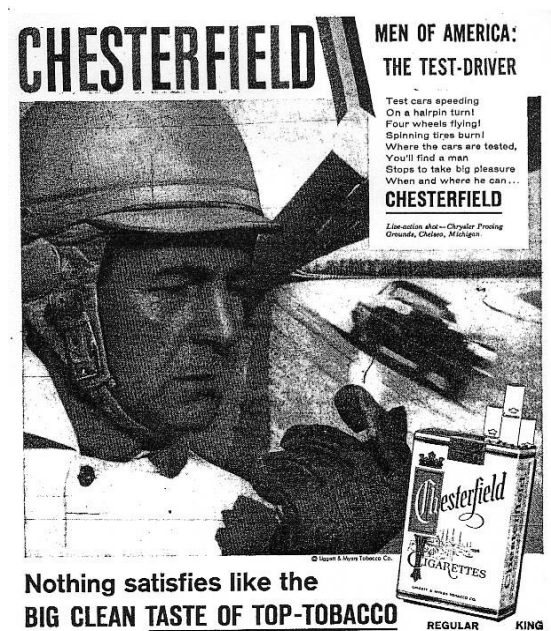


Figure 116: Chesterfield 1958⁵⁵²

⁵⁵¹ *The Orange and White*, May 6, 1954

⁵⁵² *The Orange and White*, April 1958

BELIEVE IN YOURSELF!

Don't test one brand alone
...compare them all!

Unlike others, we never ask you to test our brand alone. We say... **compare PHILIP MORRIS...match PHILIP MORRIS...judge PHILIP MORRIS** against any other cigarette!
Then make your own choice!

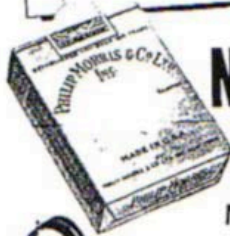
TRY THIS TEST!

Take a Philip Morris—and any other cigarette. Then, here's all you do:

1 Light up either cigarette. Take a pull—don't inhale—and slowly let the smoke come through your nose.

2 Now do exactly the same thing with the other cigarette.

NOTICE THAT PHILIP MORRIS IS DEFINITELY LESS IRRITATING, DEFINITELY MILDER!



Remember...

NO CIGARETTE HANGOVER

MEANS
MORE SMOKING PLEASURE!



CALL FOR

PHILIP MORRIS

Figure 117: Phillip Morris 1951⁵⁵³

⁵⁵³ *The Orange and White*, April 20, 1951

STOP WORRYING

about cigarette irritation

REMEMBER:

PHILIP MORRIS . . . and only
Philip Morris . . . is entirely free of
a source of irritation used in all
other leading cigarettes!

**START SMOKING
FOR PLEASURE!**

PHILIP MORRIS gives you
MORE SMOKING PLEASURE
than any other leading brand.
Yes—YOU'LL BE GLAD TOMORROW,
YOU SMOKED PHILIP MORRIS TODAY!

Figure 118: Phillip Morris 1952⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵⁴ *The Orange and White*, April 14, 1952



HUSBANDS, ANYONE?

It has been alleged that coeds go to college for the sole purpose of finding husbands. This is, of course, an infamous canard, and I give fair warning that small and spongy as I am, anybody who ever says such a dastardly thing when I am around had better be prepared for a sound hiding!

Girls go to college for precisely the same reasons as men do: to broaden their horizons, to lengthen their vistas, to drink at the fount of wisdom, to trail their fingers in the main currents of American thought. But if, by chance, while a girl is engaged in these lofty pursuits, a likely looking husband should pop into view, why, what's wrong with that? Eh? What's wrong with that?

The question now arises, what should a girl look for in a husband? A great deal has been written on this subject. Some say character is most important, some say background, some say appearance, some say education. All are wrong.

The most important thing — bar none — in a husband is health. Though he be handsome as Apollo and rich as Captain McCutchen, what good is he if he just lays around all day accumulating bedsores?



The very first thing to do upon meeting a man is to make sure that he is sound of mind and limb. Before he has a chance to beguile you with his wit and charm, slap a thermometer in his mouth, roll back his eyelids, yank out his tongue, palpate his thorax, rap his patella, ask him to straighten out a horseshoe with his teeth. If he fails to pass these few basic tests, phone for an ambulance and go on to the next prospect.

If, however, he turns out to be physically fit, proceed to the second most important requirement in a husband, I refer to a sense of humor.

A man who can't take a joke is a man to be shunned. There are several simple tests to find out whether your prospect can take a joke or not. You can, for example, slash his tires. Or burn his "Mad" comics. Or steal his switchblade. Or turn loose his pet raccoon. Or shave his head.

After each of these merry pranks, laugh gaily and shout "April Fool!" If he replies, "But this is November 28," or something equally churlish, cross him off your list and thank your lucky stars you found out in time.

But if he laughs silverly and calls you "Little minx!" then put him to the next test: Find out whether he is gentle.

The easiest, quickest way to ascertain his gentleness is, of course, to look at the cigarette he smokes. Is it mild? Is it elegant? Is it humane? Is it balm to the palate? Does it minister tenderly to the taste-buds? Does it coddle the nerve-ends? Is it the perfect accompaniment to today's easier, breezier living? Is it genial? Is it bright and friendly and full of dulcet pleasure from cock-crow till the heart of darkness?

Is it, in short, Philip Morris?

If Philip Morris it be, then clasp the man to your bosom with hoops of steel, for you may be sure that he is gentle as a summer breeze, gentle as a mother's kiss, gentle to his very marrow.

And now, having found a man who is gentle and healthy and blessed with a sense of humor, only one thing remains: namely, to make sure he will always earn a handsome living. That, fortunately, is very simple. Just enroll him in Engineering.

©Max Shulman, 1956

The makers of Philip Morris, who bring you this column, would like to suggest another pleasant and gentle life's companion: Philip Morris, of course!

Figure 119: Phillip Morris 1956⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵⁵ *The Orange and White*, 1956

**HERE ARE THE CORRECT
ANSWERS TO THE OLD GOLD**

**TANGLE
SCHOOLS**

PUZZLES

Check the record of your answers against these, to see if you are automatically eligible to compete in the tie-breakers.

1. Smith	7. Oberlin	13. Stephens	19. Georgetown
2. Purdue	8. Harvard	14. Princeton	20. Middlebury
3. Tulane	9. Colgate	15. Dartmouth	21. Johns Hopkins
4. Beloit	10. Stanford	16. Wellesley	22. Brigham Young
5. Rollins	11. Bryn Mawr	17. Notre Dame	23. Western Reserve
6. Rutgers	12. Grinnell	18. Vanderbilt	24. Northwestern

Enough entries have been checked to show that many players have correctly solved all 24 puzzles, thereby creating a tie for all prizes.

If the record of your answers to the first 24 puzzles, mailed on or before December 19, conforms with the correct answers published herein, you are automatically eligible to compete in the tie-breaking puzzles. The series of tie-breakers will be published in this paper, commencing on or about February 1st. Watch for the tie-breakers!

Please note Rule 2 as published in the official Tangle School rules at the beginning of the contest . . . which reads as follows:

- Rule 2(b). In case more than one person solves correctly the same number of puzzles, the prize tied for and as many subsequent prizes as there are persons tied, will be reserved and those so tying will be required to solve a set of tie-breaking puzzles, to determine the order in which the reserved prizes will be awarded.

YOU'LL GO FOR OLD GOLDS

Today's Old Golds are an exclusive blend of fine, nature-ripened tobaccos . . . so rich . . . so light . . . so golden bright.

That's why Old Gold Regulars and King Size . . . without a filter . . . **TASTE GREAT STRAIGHT.** For the same reason, **OLD GOLD FILTERS** give you **THE BEST TASTE YET IN A FILTER CIGARETTE.**



Get a pack
... or a
carton and
see if you
don't agree...

**NO OTHER CIGARETTE CAN MATCH
THE TASTE OF TODAY'S
OLD GOLDS**

Copyright 1956, Harry H. Sallister

Figure 120: Old Gold 1957 ⁵⁵⁶



Figure 121: Pall Mall 1959⁵⁵⁷

New filter cigarette brings
flavor back to filter smoking!

WINSTON

*Winston tastes good—
like a cigarette should!*

■ Now there's a filter smoke
college men and women can really
enjoy! It's Winston, the new,
king-size, filter cigarette with real
flavor—full, rich, tobacco flavor!

You're bound to enjoy Winston's
finer flavor. And you're sure to
appreciate Winston's finer filter.
This exclusive filter is unique,
different, truly superior! It works
so effectively—yet doesn't "thin"
the taste. Winston's are king-
size for extra filtering action.
Easy-drawing, too—there's no
effort to puff!

Try a pack of Winstons—the filter
cigarette that brings flavor back
to filter smoking!

WINSTON... the easy-drawing filter cigarette!

FINER
FILTER!

FINER
FLAVOR!

KING SIZE,
TOO!

KING SIZE
Winston
FILTER CIGARETTES
FINER FILTER
FINER FLAVOR

R. J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO CO., WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Figure 122: Winston 1954⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁷ *The Orange and White*, February 13, 1959

⁵⁵⁸ *The Orange and White*, May 13, 1954



Figure 125: L&M 1954⁵⁶¹



Figure 126: L&M 1955⁵⁶²

⁵⁶¹ *The Orange and White*, November 18, 1954

⁵⁶² *The Orange and White*, October 14, 1955

You'll be sittin' on top of the world when you change to **L&M**



Light into that **L&M** Live Modern flavor

Only L&M gives you
this filter fact—
the patent number
on every pack....
...your guarantee of
a more effective filter
on today's L&M.



Best tasin' smoke you'll ever find!

Put yourself behind the pleasure end of an L&M. Get the flavor, the full rich taste of the Southland's finest cigarette tobaccos. The patented Miracle Tip is pure white inside, pure white outside, as a filter should be for cleaner, better smoking.

©1958 LAWRENCE & MEYER TOBACCO CO.

Figure 127: L&M 1958⁵⁶³

⁵⁶³ *The Orange and White*, April 4, 1958

*On Every Campus... College Men
and Women are discovering why*

VICEROYS are Smoother



Here is the reason: Only VICEROY has 20,000 filters in every tip—*twice as many filters* as the other two largest-selling filter brands—to give that smoother taste—that VICEROY taste!

**VICEROYS are Smoother than
any other cigarette. Because
Viceroy's have twice as many
filters as the other two
leading filter brands!**



The exclusive Viceroy filter is made from pure cellulose—soft, snow-white, natural!

Figure 128: Viceroy 1956⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶⁴ *The Orange and White*, May 11, 1956

What does this fruit have to do with this cigarette filter?

THE VICEROY FILTER IS MADE FROM A PURE, NATURAL MATERIAL FOUND IN ALL FRUIT

and it gives you Maximum Filtration for the Smoothest Smoke!

• From the same soft, pure material found in the rich pulp of nature's healthful fruits, modern filter scientists have created the greatest cigarette filter ever designed... the Viceroy filter. For the Viceroy filter gives you the maximum filtration for the smoothest smoke of any cigarette. More taste, too... the pure, natural taste of rich, mellow tobacco. Yes, Viceroy gives you more of what you change to a filter too!

VICEROY PURE, NATURAL FILTER...
PURE, NATURAL TASTE

Figure 129: Viceroy 1958⁵⁶⁵

All the pleasure comes thru
...THE TASTE IS GREAT!

THE ACTIVATED
CHARCOAL FILTER

THE BEST IN FILTERED SMOKING

FILTER TIP TAREYTON
PRODUCT OF The American Tobacco Company AMERICA'S LEADING MANUFACTURER OF CIGARETTES

All the pleasure comes thru in Filter Tip Tareyton. You get the full, rich taste of Tareyton's quality tobacco in a filter cigarette that smokes milder, smokes smoother, stays moist... and it's the only filter cigarette with a genuine cork tip. Tareyton's filter is prestigious because it contains Activated Charcoal for real filtration. Activated Charcoal is used to purify air, water, foods and beverages, so you can appreciate its importance in a filter cigarette. Yes, Filter Tip Tareyton is the filter cigarette that really filters, that you can really taste... and the taste is great!

Figure 130: Tareyton 1955⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶⁵ *The Orange and White*, March 28, 1958

⁵⁶⁶ *The Orange and White*, November 4, 1955

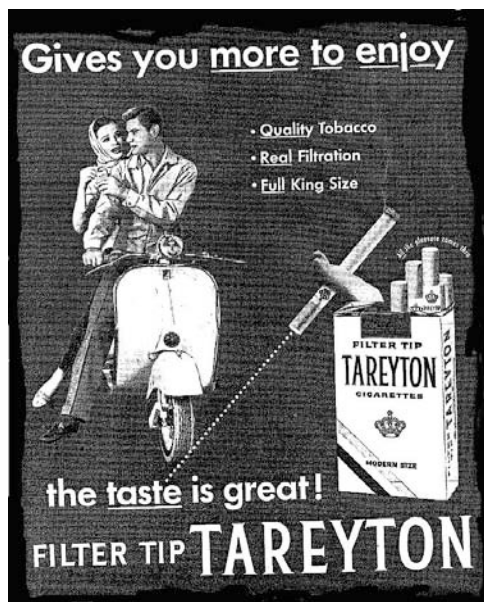


Figure 131: Tareyton 1956⁵⁶⁷



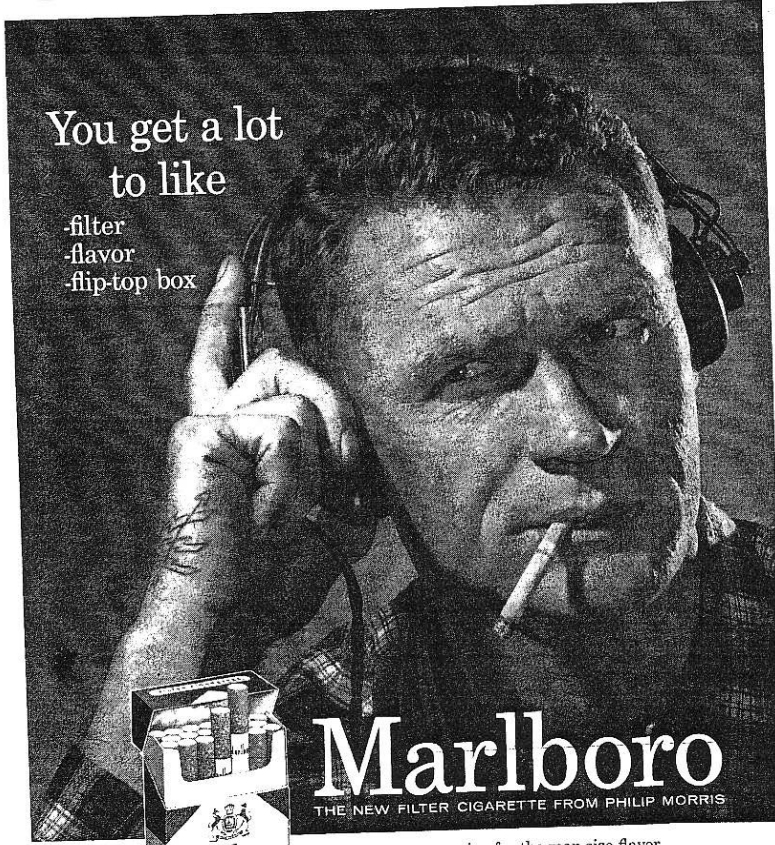
Figure 132: Tareyton 1960⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁷ *The Orange and White*, October 19, 1956

⁵⁶⁸ *The Orange and White*, April 8, 1960

You get a lot
to like

- filter
- flavor
- flip-top box



Marlboro
THE NEW FILTER CIGARETTE FROM PHILIP MORRIS

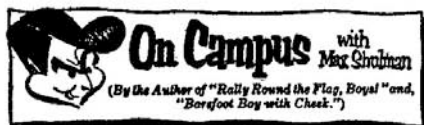
NEW
FLIP-TOP BOX
Firm to keep
cigarettes from
crushing
No tobacco in
your pocket.

Thank a new recipe for the man-size flavor.
It comes full through the filter with an easy draw.
Thank the Flip-Top Box for the neatest cigarette package
you ever put in your pocket or purse. Popular filter price.

(MADE IN RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, FROM A NEW PHILIP MORRIS RECIPE)

Figure 133: Marlboro 1956⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁹ *The Orange and White*, May 4, 1956



THE GIFT HORSE

I know how busy you are—studying, going to class, catching night crawlers—but let me interrupt your multifarious activities—studying, going to class, helping old grads find their dentures after Homecoming—to remind you that busy as you are—studying, going to class, searching for meat in the dormitory stew—time and tide wait for no man, and the Yuletide will soon be upon us. Busy or not, we must turn our thoughts to Christmas shopping. Let us, therefore, pause for a moment in our busy schedules—studying, going to class, rolling drunks—to examine a number of interesting gift suggestions.

We will start with the hardest gift problem of all: What do you give to the person who has everything? Well sir, there follows a list of a half dozen gifts which I will flatly guarantee the person who has everything does not have:

1. A dentist's chair.
2. A low hurdle.
3. A street map of Perth.
4. Fifty pounds of chicken fat.
5. A carton of filter-tip Marlboros.
6. A carton of non-filter Philip Morris.

"What!" you exclaim, your young eyebrows rising in wild incredulity. "The person who has everything does not have cartons of filter Marlboros and non-filter Philip Morris?" you shriek, your young lips curling mockingly. "What arrant nonsense!" you rasp, making a coarse gesture.

And I reply with an emphatic *no!* The person who has everything does not have filter Marlboros and non-filter Philip Morris—not for long anyhow—because if he has Marlboros and Philip Morris and if he is a person who likes a mild, mellow, fresh, flavorful cigarette—and who does not? eh? who does not?—why, then he doesn't have Marlboros and Philip Morris; he smokes them. He might possibly have a large collection of Marlboro and Philip Morris *butts*, but *whole* Marlboros and Philip Morris? No. An emphatic *no!*

Now we take up another thorny gift problem: What do you buy your girl if you are broke? Quite a challenge, you will agree, but there is an answer—an ingenious, exciting answer! Surprise your girl with a beautiful bronze head of herself!



Oh, I know you're not a sculptor, but that doesn't matter. All you have to do is endear yourself to your girl's roommate, so she will be willing to do you a favor. Then some night when your girl is fast asleep, have the roommate butter your girl's face—quietly, so as not to wake her—and then quietly pour plaster of Paris on top of the butter and then quietly wait till it hardens and quietly lift it off—the butter will keep it from sticking—and then bring you the mold, and you will pour bronze in it and make a beautiful bust to surprise your girl with!

Remember, it is important—very important—to endear yourself to the roommate, because if anything should go wrong, you don't want to be without a girl for the holiday season.

© 1958 J&J Stinson

Your gift problem is no problem if you will give Marlboros to your filter smoking friends and Philip Morris to your non-filter smoking friends. Both come in soft pack or flip-top box; both are made by the sponsor of this column.

Figure 134: Marlboro 1958⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁷⁰ *The Orange and White*, November 21, 1958

A new idea in smoking...

Salem refreshes your taste



Smoking was never like this before! Salem refreshes your taste just as a glorious Spring morning refreshes you. To rich tobacco taste, Salem adds a surprise softness that gives smoking new ease and comfort. Yes, through Salem's pure-white, modern filter flows the freshest taste in cigarettes. Smoke refreshed . . . smoke Salem!

Take a Puff... It's Springtime

- menthol fresh
- rich tobacco taste
- most modern filter

Created by R. J. Harvold Tobacco Company

Figure 135: Salem 1957⁵⁷¹

KOOL KROSSWORD No. 16

ACROSS

1. Best cigarette for cool smoking
2. Double extra
3. It's Lorraine
4. The idea's just a common sense
5. Cool cigarette
6. Kind of dance
7. Stages
8. Oh yes, skip that
9. Cool, well
10. In way
11. Don't want
12. Cool cigarette
13. Cool cigarette
14. Cool cigarette
15. Cool cigarette
16. Cool cigarette
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94. Cool cigarette
95. Cool cigarette
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97. Cool cigarette
98. Cool cigarette
99. Cool cigarette
100. Cool cigarette

DOWN

1. Cool, a little
2. Power's last
3. Staying
4. Kool are
5. Kool are
6. Kool are
7. They're really
8. Kind of green
9. Green
10. Green
11. Green
12. Green
13. Green
14. Green
15. Green
16. Green
17. Green
18. Green
19. Green
20. Green
21. Green
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100. Green

ARE YOU KOOL ENOUGH TO KRACK THIS?

SWITCH FROM HOTS TO SNOW FRESH FILTER KOOL

AMERICA'S MOST REFRESHING CIGARETTE

... ALSO REGULAR SIZE KOOL WITHOUT FILTERS

© 1960, R. J. Harvold Tobacco Company

Figure 136: Kool 1960⁵⁷²

⁵⁷¹ *The Orange and White*, October 11, 1957

⁵⁷² *The Orange and White*, May 27, 1960

Figure 137: Line Graph

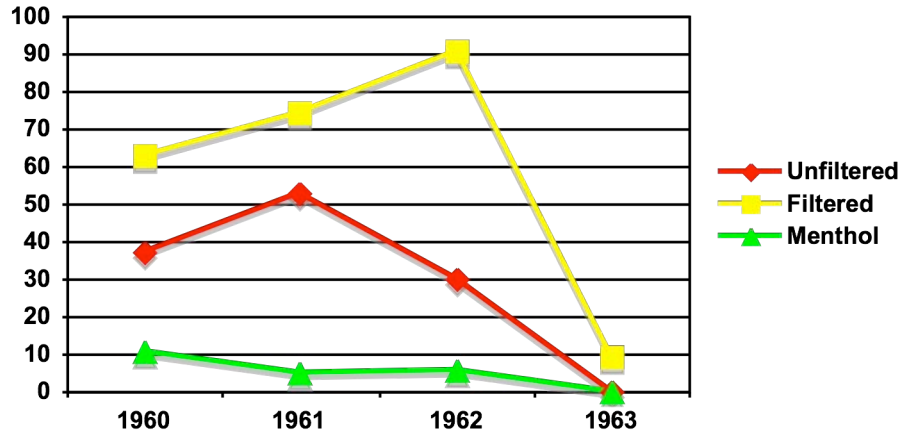


Figure 137: Comparison of Advertising Across Three Classes of Cigarettes

Figure 138: Graph

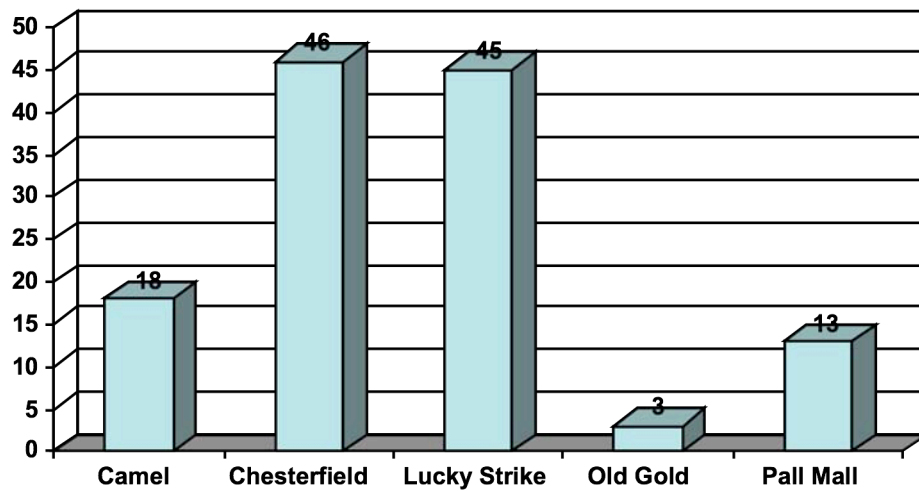


Figure 138: Unfiltered Cigarette Advertisements – 1960 to 1963

Figure 139: Bar Graph

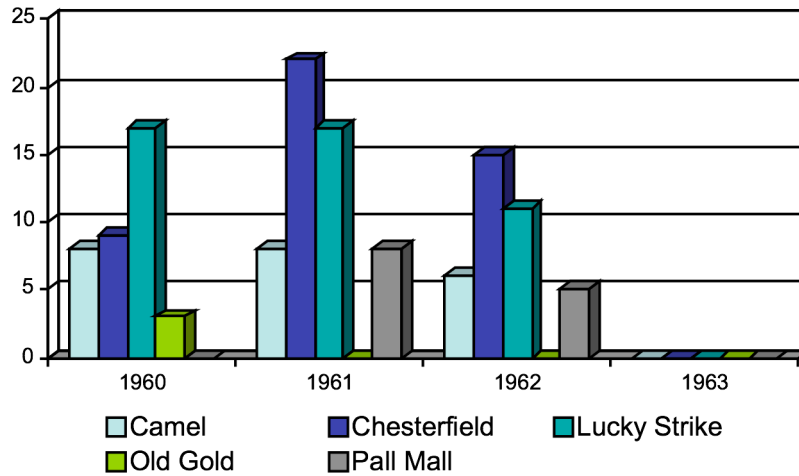


Figure 139: Advertisements for Unfiltered Cigarettes – 1960 to 1963

Figure 140: Graph

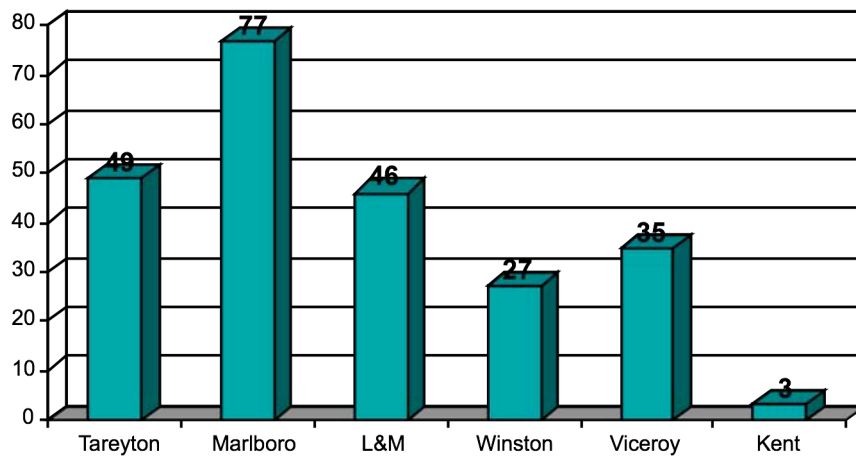


Figure 140: Advertisements for Filtered Cigarettes – 1960 to 1963

Figure 141: Graph

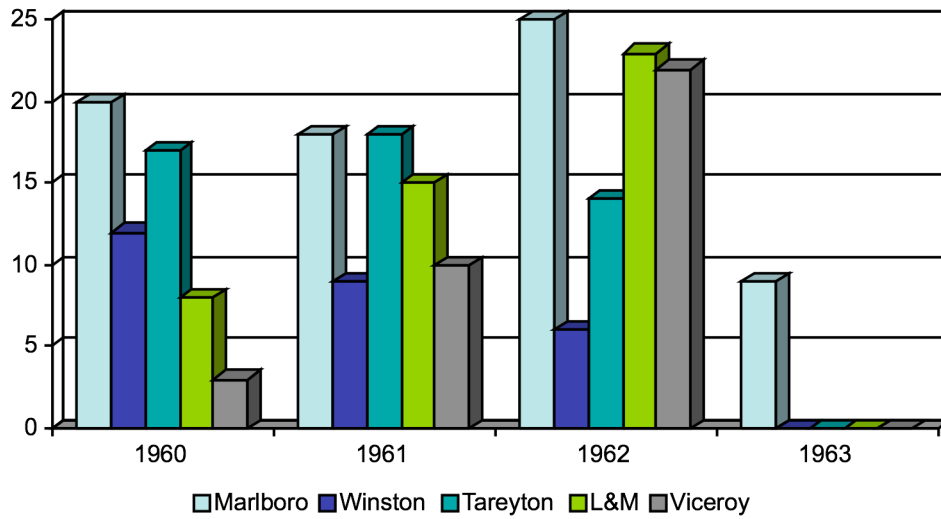


Figure 141: Advertisers for Filtered Cigarette Brands – 1960s

Figure 142: Graph

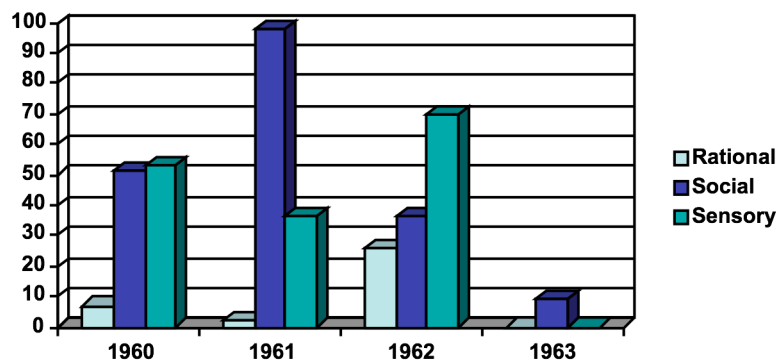


Figure 142: Creative Strategy by Year – 1960 to 1963

Figure 143: Pie Chart

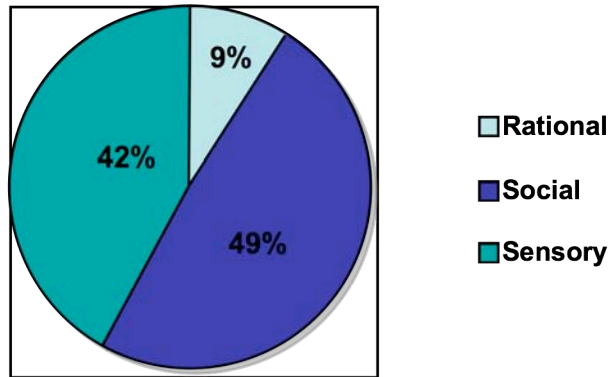


Figure 143: Creative Strategy by Percent – 1960 to 1963

Figure 144: Graph

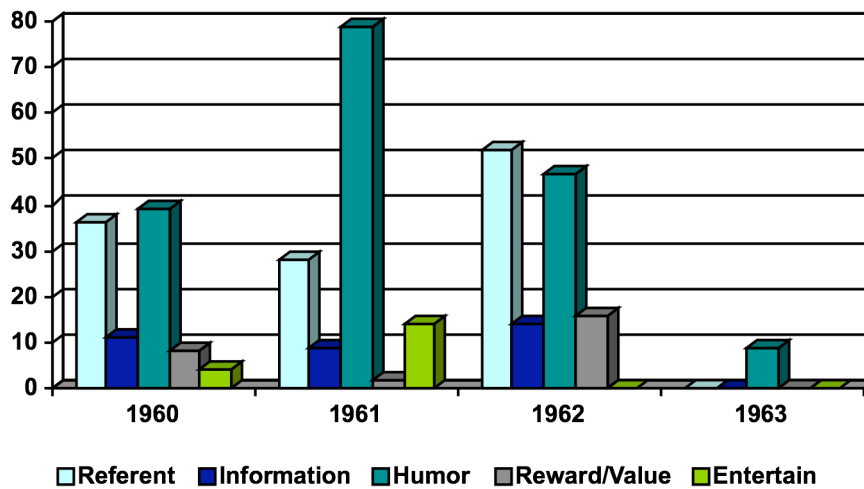


Figure 144: Creative Tactics by Year – 1960 to 1963

Figure 145: Pie Chart

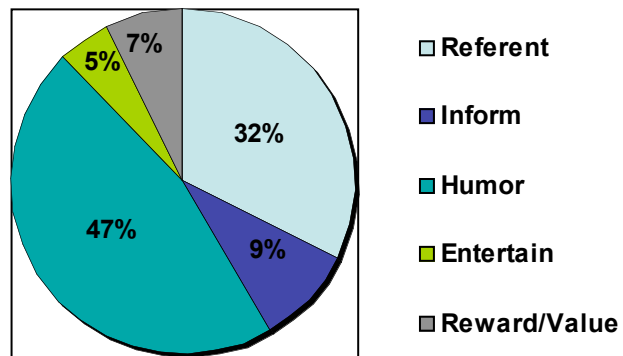


Figure 145: Creative Tactics by Percent - 1960 to 1963



Figure 146: Camel 1961⁵⁷³

⁵⁷³ *The Orange and White*, October 27, 1961

Career Cues

"Hitch your wagon to a 'growth' industry—and grow with it!"

Douglas Leigh, President
Douglas Leigh, Inc.

"A growth industry is a new industry that is on the way up — moving quickly, expanding fast. When you join a company in one of the growth fields you have something extra working for you... you grow up with it. To find out which industry is right for you, try this: Ask someone in a good investment office to give you a list of the industries he considers 'growth industries'. Data

Processing, plastics, and electronics are a few examples. Then pick the one you have a leaning toward, and get the names of the most progressive companies in that field.

One thing I'd like to point out from my own career is... a growth industry may also be an old business that's on the verge of new development. Shortly after leaving college I found this situation in the Outdoor Advertising field. What my associates and I did was to employ color, action and motion to dramatically personify the product, brand or services being advertised. In doing so, we developed the modern type 'Spectaculars' that talked, blew smoke rings, soap bubbles, etc... signs that changed the face of Broadway and the famous Times Square area. This is just one example. The really important thing to remember is this: When you set your sights on a career, aim for an industry that is going to grow, so you can grow with it. It's the difference between a rocket that blasts off, and one that just sits there. Good luck!"



Plan your pleasure ahead, too.

Have a real cigarette—Camel

THE BEST TOBACCO MAKES THE BEST SMOKE.

H. J. Karmali
Western Union
Winston-Salem
North Carolina

Figure 147: Camel 1961⁵⁷⁴



SIC FLICS

"All I have to do is fly to
St. Louis and back and then
I'm initiated?"

21 GREAT TOBACCOS MAKE 20 WONDERFUL SMOKES!
AGED MILD. BLENDED MILD - NOT FILTERED MILD - THEY SATISFY

Chesterfield
KING
CIGARETTES

Figure 148: Chesterfield 1961⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷⁴ *The Orange and White*, October 27, 1961

⁵⁷⁵ *The Orange and White*, October 27, 1961

Tastes Great
because
the
tobaccos
are!

21 Great Tobaccos make 20 Wonderful Smokes!
CHESTERFIELD KING tastes great, smokes mild. You get
21 vintage tobaccos grown mild, aged mild and blended mild,
and made to taste even milder through its longer length.

CHESTERFIELD KING
CIGARETTES

ORDINARY CIGARETTES
CHESTERFIELD KING

Longer length means milder taste
The smoke of a Chesterfield King
mellowes and softens as it flows
through longer length...becomes
smooth and gentle to your taste.

Figure 149: Chesterfield 1962⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷⁶ *The Orange and White*, October 2, 1962

YOU MAY RECEIVE A LIFE-SIZED, AUTOGRAPHED PORTRAIT OF **DR. FROOD**—UNLESS YOU ACT NOW!

Hurry! Rush out now and buy a pack of Luckies! Smoke them quickly! Send the empty pack to Dr. Frood. If you do it now—Frood guarantees not to send you this photo.



CHANGE TO LUCKIES and get some taste for a change!

Product of The American Tobacco Company — "Tobacco is our middle name"

Figure 150: Lucky Strike 1960⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁷ *The Orange and White*, November 18, 1960



Figure 151: Lucky Strike 1961⁵⁷⁸

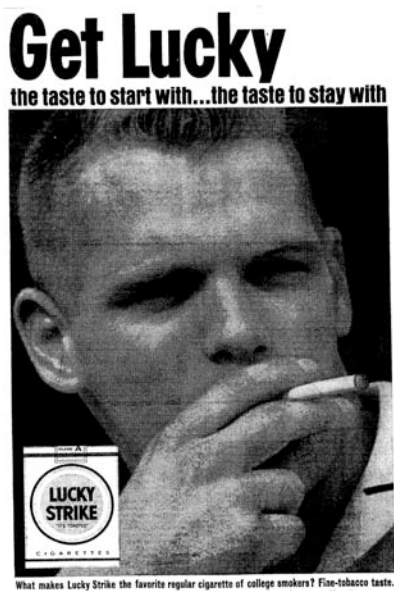


Figure 152: Lucky Strike 1962⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁸ *The Orange and White*, November 2, 1961

⁵⁷⁹ *The Orange and White*, April 27, 1962



Figure 153: Pall Mall 1962⁵⁸⁰



Figure 154: Pall Mall 1962⁵⁸¹

⁵⁸⁰ *The Orange and White*, January 12, 1962

⁵⁸¹ *The Orange and White*, October 2, 1962



Figure 155: Tareyton 1960⁵⁸²



Figure 156: Tareyton 1961⁵⁸³

⁵⁸² *The Orange and White*, September 20, 1960

⁵⁸³ *The Orange and White*, October 12, 1961



Figure 157: Winston 1960⁵⁸⁴



Figure 158: L&M 1960⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸⁴ *The Orange and White*, November 18, 1960

⁵⁸⁵ *The Orange and White*, April 1, 1960

50 Pontiac Tempests FREE!



America's hottest new sports convertible!

L&M GRAND PRIX 50

Sweepstakes for colleges only

Your chances of winning are 50 times better than if open to the general public

You can win 50 brand new '62 Pontiac Tempest Ex-Moto convertibles for the price of 10¢. There's no need to buy a lot of tickets. The big advantage is getting one... a large prize not growing through the small ones. There's no buying for a 10¢ ticket and getting 50 new Tempest convertibles - big exciting prize - different in all 50 states... no limit on the number of entries per person.

Enter now! Here's all you do:

1. Buy one L&M Grand Prix 50 10¢ entry ticket. Send for form.
2. Complete and mail to L&M Grand Prix 50 Sweepstakes, P.O. Box 100, New York 10108.
3. Send for the 50 new Tempest Ex-Moto convertibles. They'll be yours in 10 days.

Winner Tempests will include 4 speed floor shift, bucket seats, chrome wire wheel covers, radio and heater, chrome wheel covers, windshield wipers and white aluminum lines, with delivery, value not included. All prizes will be delivered to the winner's home or school as well as a choice of 10 different prize options.

Prizes are awarded by random drawing. All prizes are subject to the availability of the prize. The first 50 Tempests (1962) after Thanksgiving. Drawing for the first 50 Tempests (1962) after Thanksgiving. Drawing for the first 50 Tempests (1962) after Thanksgiving. Drawing for the first 50 Tempests (1962) after Thanksgiving.

EXCLUSIVE FOR THE GIRLS!
If you wish, you may choose instead of the Tempest a darling expensive dress (valued at \$100) or a pair of shoes (valued at \$50). Total Prize \$100 in cash!



Get with the winners...
far ahead in smoking satisfaction!

See the Pontiac Tempest at your nearby Pontiac Dealer!

Figure 159: L&M 1962⁵⁸⁶

WINNERS

VICEROY FOOTBALL CONTEST No. 2

(For games played Saturday, Oct. 21)

1st Prize
\$100.00
CASH!

Chuck Carter, Industrial Engineering major, Class of '62 (photo at left), walked away with Viceroy's first hundred bucks prize money by getting all the winners right, and hitting four out of ten scores on the nose! Jerry Marshall Hale, '64, took second prize money (\$50), and Jerry Jackson, '62, got the third prize of \$25. (Winners of Contests 3 and 4 will be announced soon.)

20 PRIZES OF \$10 EACH WON BY THESE STUDENTS ON CAMPUS!

HOWIE M. AUSTIN, JR.
TED BRIDGES
STEVEN M. BUTLER
WILLIAM L. CARR
DAVE L. COMBANT

ALLEN FISCHER
GARY AND GINGER
WILLIAM W. JENNINGS
JOHN KIMBLEY JONES
HAROLD M. LOTT

EDDY MALLISTER
EDDY MALLISTER
JERRY L. MULLAP
TOMMY OVERTON
MRS. JOYCE SHERROD PEARSON

BARRY L. ROGERS
ANTHONY SMITH
EDDY SUMMERS
JACK E. WILLIAMS
JERRY WILLIAMS

Plus—A carton of Viceroy to all students who got all the winners right, regardless of scores!

ENTER CONTEST NO. 4
clip this now!

Here Are the Contest Rules:

1. Any student or faculty member on this campus may enter contest regardless of class or year. All entries become the property of Brown & Williamson—none will be returned. Winners will be notified within three weeks after each contest. Winner's names will be published in this newspaper. You may enter as often as you wish, provided each entry is sent individually. Contest subject to all governmental regulations. Entries must be postmarked or dropped in ballot box no later than the date of the contest. Entries received after the date of the contest will not be considered.
2. Entries must be in contestant's own name. In the coupon on this ad we will offer you a chance to guess the scores of the games and check the winners. Each winner's name is printed in the coupon and the name of the game is printed in the coupon. Send your guess to the coupon on this ad. Send your guess to the coupon on this ad. Send your guess to the coupon on this ad.
3. Entries will be judged by the Brown & Williamson Corp., not the Board of Trustees of Brown University. There will be no prize on the basis of scores printed. Ballot prize awarded to user of this form.
4. Winners are eligible for any prize in subsequent contests.

(Attach Viceroy package or facsimile here)

Viceroy College Football CONTEST NO. 4

Here are my predictions for next Saturday's games. Send my prize money to:

NAME _____ CLASS _____

ADDRESS _____

WIN	SCORE	WIN	SCORE
<input type="checkbox"/> Tennessee	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Mississippi	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Georgia	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Auburn	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Clemson	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Furman	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Princeton	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Yale	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Michigan	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Iowa	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Army	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Oklahoma	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> S. C. U.	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Mississippi St.	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Stanford	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Washington St.	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Notre Dame	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Syracuse	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Pittsburgh	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> So. California	_____

Contest open ONLY TO STUDENTS AND FACULTY ON THIS CAMPUS.
(Mail before midnight, Nov. 15, to: Viceroy, Box 97-C, Mt. Vernon, N.Y. 10553)

Figure 160: Viceroy 1961⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁶ The Orange and White, November 6, 1962

⁵⁸⁷ The Orange and White, November 10, 1961



Figure 161: Viceroy 1962⁵⁸⁸



Figure 162: Marlboro 1962⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁸ *The Orange and White*, May 10, 1962

⁵⁸⁹ *The Orange and White*, December 7, 1962



ANOTHER YEAR, ANOTHER DOLLAR

With today's entry I begin my ninth year of writing columns in your school newspaper for the makers of Marlboro Cigarettes.

Nine years, I believe you will agree, is a long time. In fact, it took only a little longer than nine years to dig the Suez Canal, and you know what a gigantic undertaking that was! To be sure, the work would have gone more rapidly had the shovel been invented at that time, but, as we all know, the shovel was not invented until 1946 by Walter R. Shovel of Cleveland, Ohio. Before Mr. Shovel's discovery in 1946, all digging was done with sugar tongs—a method unquestionably dainty but hardly what one would call rapid. There were, naturally, many efforts made to speed up digging before Mr. Shovel's breakthrough—notably an attempt in 1912 by the immortal Thomas Alva Edison to dig with the phonograph, but the only thing that happened was that he got his horn full of sand. This so depressed Mr. Edison that he fell into a fit of melancholy from which he did not emerge until two years later when his friend William Wordsworth, the eminent nature poet, cheered him up by imitating a duck for four and a half hours.

But I digress. For nine years, I say, I have been writing this column for the makers of Marlboro Cigarettes, and for nine years they have been paying me money. You are shocked. You think that anyone who has tasted Marlboro's unparalleled flavor, who has enjoyed Marlboro's filter, who has revelled in Marlboro's jolly red and white pack or box should be more than willing to write about Marlboro without a penny's compensation. You are wrong.

Compensation is the very foundation stone of the American Way of Life. Whether you love your work or hate it, our system absolutely requires that you be paid for it. For example, I have a friend named Rex Glebe, a veterinarian by profession, who simply adores to worm dogs. I mean you can call him up and say, "Hey, Rex, let's go bowl a few lines," or "Hey, Rex, let's go flatten some pennies on the railroad tracks," and he will always reply, "No, thanks. I better stay here in case somebody wants a dog wormed." I mean there is not one thing in the whole world you can name that Rex likes better than worming a dog. But even so, Rex always sends a bill for worming your dog because in his wisdom he knows that to do otherwise would be to rend, possibly irreparably, the fabric of democracy.



It's the same with me and Marlboro Cigarettes. I think Marlboro's flavor represents the pinnacle of the tobaccoist's art. I think Marlboro's filter represents the pinnacle of the filter-maker's art. I think Marlboro's pack and box represent the pinnacle of the packager's art. I think Marlboro is a pleasure and a treasure, and I fairly burst with pride that I have been chosen to speak for Marlboro on your campus. All the same, I want my money every week. And the makers of Marlboro understand this full well. They don't like it, but they understand it.

In the columns which follow this opening installment, I will turn the hot white light of truth on the pressing problems of campus life—the many and varied dilemmas which beset the undergraduate—burning questions like "Should Chaucer classrooms be converted to parking garages?" and "Should proctors be given a saliva test?" and "Should foreign exchange students be held for ransom?"

And in these columns, while grappling with the crises that vex campus America, I will make occasional brief mention of Marlboro Cigarettes. If I do not, the makers will not give me any money.

© 1962 Max Shulman

The makers of Marlboro will bring you this uncensored, free-style column 26 times throughout the school year. During this period it is not unlikely that Old Max will step on some toes—principally ours—but we think it's all in fun and we hope you will too.

Figure 163: Marlboro 1962⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁹⁰ *The Orange and White*, September 12, 1962



Figure 164: Kool 1960⁵⁹¹



Figure 165: Salem 1962⁵⁹²

⁵⁹¹ *The Orange and White*, October 7, 1960

⁵⁹² *The Orange and White*, October 9, 1962



Figure 166: Camel 1931 Career Advisors⁵⁹³

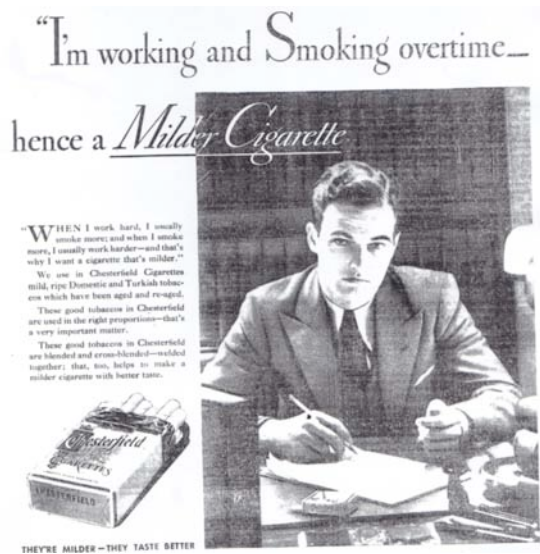


Figure 167: Chesterfield 1933 Career Advisors⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁹³ *Orange and White*, April 2, 1931

⁵⁹⁴ *Orange and White*, January 17, 1933

© 1935, R. J. REYNOLDS TOB. CO.

SOCIETY MATRON. Mrs. Lathrop Whitaker Stevens, of New York, says: "It's remarkable the way a Camel renews your energy."

COLLEGE STUDENT. "I smoke a lot, because I find that Camels keep me on the alert... banish that 'dope' in' feeling," says Alfred Archer. "What a swell taste they have!"

GIRL EXPLORER. "When I'm tired," says Mrs. William LaVare, "I stop and smoke a Camel. It wakes up my energy in no time. Smoking Camels steadily does not affect the nerves."

ENGINEER. "Camels refresh me in a very few minutes," says Erwin B. Jones, staff engineer, Boulder Dam. "And man, what a swell taste Camels have!"

TRANSPACIFIC FLYER. "Camels are my 'super-charger.' They give me new energy and 'go,'" says Sir Charles Kingsford-Smith.

RANCHER. Charley Belden, of Platteville, Wyoming, adds his comment: "When I get to feeling tired, I smoke a Camel, and my energy perks up right away."

FIREMAN. Stanley Adams says: "When I feel all it, Camels give me new 'zip.' 'I'd walk a mile for a Camel.'"

ALASKAN EXPLORER. Harold McCracken has this to say: "Camels are mild... yet have a full, rich flavor. They refresh my energy."

REPORTER. "When I'm feeling 'let down,'" says Marry Nichols, "I get a 'lift' in my energy with a Camel."

RADIO EXPERT. "Camels are my choice no taste," says Harry Miller, radio engineer, of Station WOR. "And smoking a Camel helps to relieve fatigue."

TRANSPORT PILOT. Maurice Moore, of the United Air Lines, says: "When I feel 'all in,' I pull out a Camel and light up! The tiredness is quickly relieved."

EXPLORER. Captain R. Stuart Murray, F. R. G. S., says: "Camels always give me a pick-up in energy when I need it, and I prefer Camel's flavor."

BRIDGE ENGINEER. R. G. One says: "It's a strenuous life—bridging the Golden Gate. When I'm worn out, a Camel quickly relieves me of tiredness."

COLLEGE GIRL. Listen to Marguerite Ozmon: "Smoking a Camel makes me feel fresher... more alert. And what a grand taste Camels have... so mild and appealing."

CAMERAMAN. E. E. C. Pickwood speaking: "Do I get worn out and exhausted? You bet! The way I 'turn on' my energy again is to smoke a Camel."

HORSEWOMAN. "I don't know of anything else that brings the pleasant lift I get from a Camel," says Miss Helene Bradshaw. "Camels never give me jumpy nerves."

FARMER. I. A. Bailey: "Like many farmers, I have found a way to lick tiredness. I smoke a Camel and find my energy renewed. Camels suit me right down to the ground."

We "get a Lift with a Camel!"

COSTLIER TOBACCOS IN CAMELS!

"Camels are made from finer, MORE EXPENSIVE TOBACCOS—Turkish and Domestic—than any other popular brand."

(Signed) R. J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO COMPANY
Winston-Salem, N. C.



Figure 168: Camel 1935 Career Advisors⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹⁵ *Orange and White*, April 26, 1935



Figure 169: Chesterfield 1943 Career Advisors⁵⁹⁶



Figure 170: Camel 1943 Career Advisors⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹⁶ *The Orange and White*, March 10, 1943

⁵⁹⁷ *The Orange and White*, May 12, 1943



Figure 171: Camel 1954 Career Advisors⁵⁹⁸



Figure 172: Camel 1956 Career Advisors⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁸ *The Orange and White*, March 4, 1954

⁵⁹⁹ *The Orange and White*, October 5, 1956

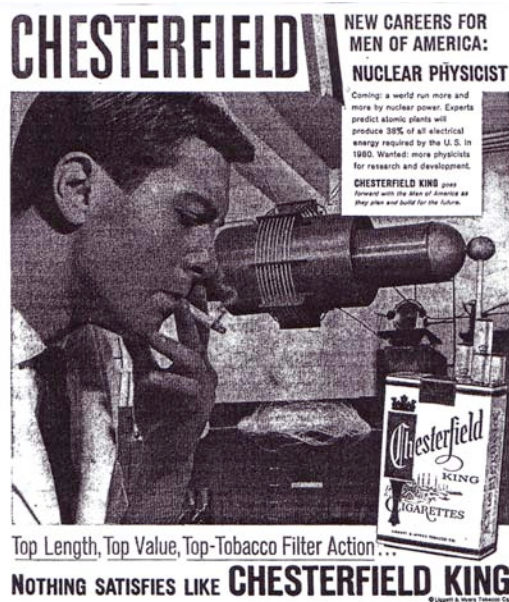


Figure 173: Chesterfield 1958 Career Advisors⁶⁰⁰



Figure 174: Chesterfield 1932 Matchmakers⁶⁰¹

⁶⁰⁰ *The Orange and White*, November 21, 1958

⁶⁰¹ *Orange and White*, November 18, 1932

"Remember how I brought you two together"

*I am your
Lucky Strike
I'm your best friend*

I am a friend indeed. A better friend than others, because I am made only of mild, fragrant, expansive center leaves. I don't permit a single sharp top leaf nor

a single coarse bottom leaf to mar my good taste or my uniform mildness. I do not irritate your throat. I am a soothing companion, the best of friends.

LUCKIES USE
THE CENTER LEAVES... CENTER LEAVES GIVE YOU THE MILDEST SMOKE

They Taste Better

Copyright 1935, The American Tobacco Company

Figure 175: Lucky Strike 1935 Matchmakers⁶⁰²

⁶⁰² *Orange and White*, March 29, 1935

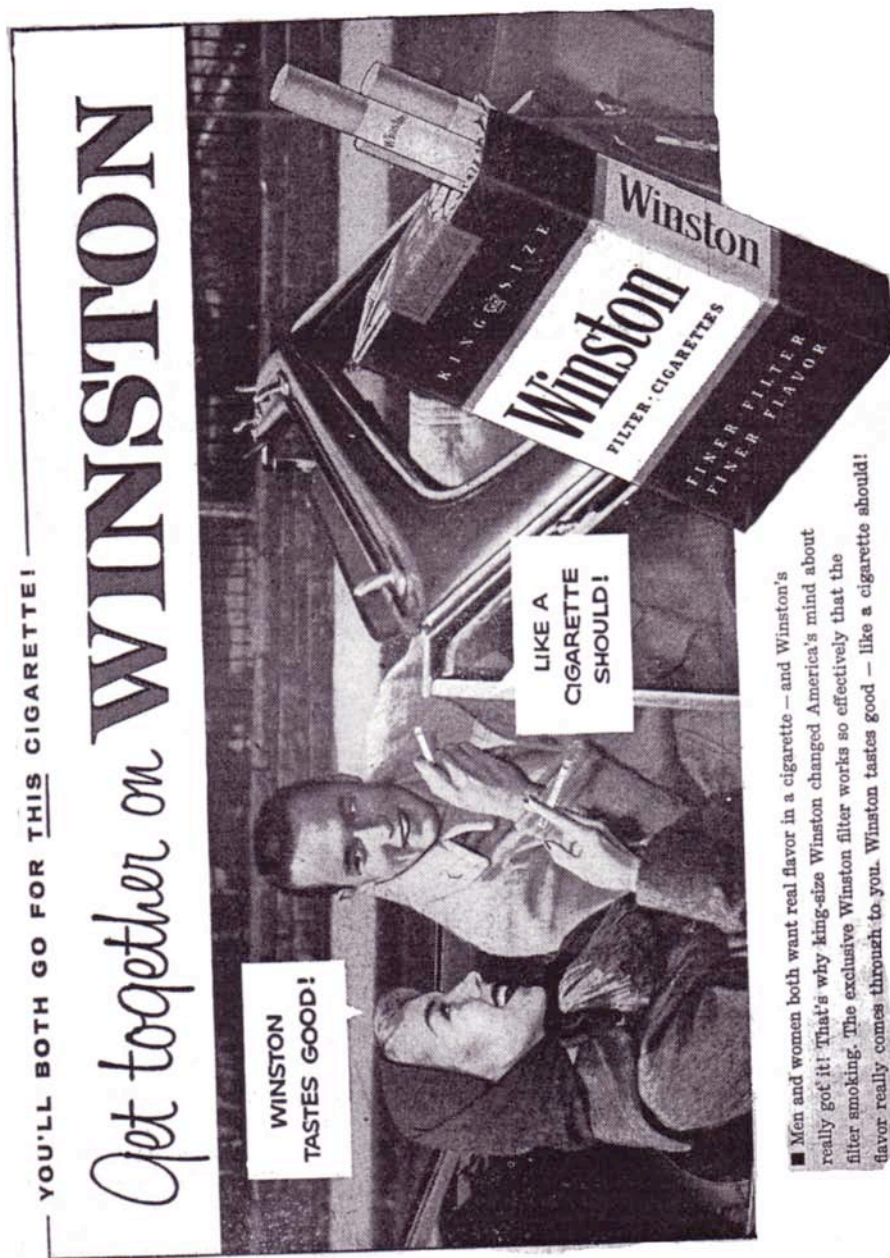


Figure 176: Winston 1955 Matchmakers⁶⁰³

⁶⁰³ *The Orange and White*, December 2, 1955



ALL THE PLEASURE COMES THRU...



THE ACTIVATED
CHARCOAL FILTER

*the taste
is great!*

Here you have the best in filtered smoking
—Filter Tip Tareyton, the filter cigarette that smokes
milder, smokes smoother, draws easier... the
only one that gives you Activated Charcoal filtration.
All the pleasure comes thru... the taste is great!

THE BEST IN
FILTERED SMOKING

FILTER TIP TAREYTON

PRODUCT OF *The American Tobacco Company* AMERICA'S LEADING MANUFACTURER OF CIGARETTES

Figure 177: Tareyton 1956 Matchmakers⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰⁴ *The Orange and White*, February 10, 1956

When classes are through
And your girl's close to you
Here's a good thing to do—have a CAMEL!

**—Man, that's
pure pleasure!**

It's a psychological fact:
Pleasure helps your disposition.
If you're a smoker, remember
— more people get more
pure pleasure from Camels
than from any other cigarette!
**No other cigarette is so
rich-tasting, yet so mild!**



Camel

R. J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO CO., WINTHROP, N. C.

Figure 178: Camel 1956 Matchmakers⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰⁵ *The Orange and White*, February 24, 1956

**Smoke Tomorrow's
better cigarette*
Today-**

Enjoy a Cool Mildness
never possible before!

PUT A
SMILE IN YOUR
SMOKING!


Chesterfield
* Made with *AccuRay*

Chesterfield
KING-SIZE
CIGARETTES
BEST FOR YOU!
LIGGETT & MYERS TOBACCO CO.

© LIGGETT & MYERS TOBACCO CO.

Figure 179: Chesterfield 1955 Matchmakers⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰⁶ *The Orange and White*, October 27, 1955



And still another leading tobacconist in Knoxville, Tennessee says:


"OLD GOLD is easily the fastest-growing cigarette in this locality, and I shouldn't be surprised before long to find it the most popular cigarette on the campus. The boys sure do like its smoothness."

J. BLAUFELD & SON
516 Gay Street

AT LEADING COLLEGES.. *This is an Old Gold year*

or a most refreshing change:

**"Follow your friends and smoke
this smoother and better cigarette"**



© P. Lorillard Co., Est. 1760

Figure 180: Old Gold 1928 Campus Cigarette⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁷ *Orange and White*, April 12, 1928

31,000 ACTUAL STUDENT INTERVIEWS SHOW COLLEGE SMOKERS PREFER LUCKIES TO ALL OTHER BRANDS!



*Latest extensive
nation-wide survey,
supervised by college
professors, proves Luckies
lead again!*

*Be Happy-
GO LUCKY!*

In 1952, a survey of colleges throughout the country showed that smokers in those colleges preferred Luckies to any other cigarette. In 1953, another far more extensive and comprehensive survey—supervised by college professors and

based on more than 31,000 actual student interviews—once again proves Luckies' overwhelming popularity. Yes, Luckies lead again over all other brands, regular or king size ... and by a wide margin! The number-one reason: Luckies' better taste!



LUCKIES TASTE BETTER CLEANER, FRESHER, SMOOTHER

PRODUCT OF *The American Tobacco Company* AMERICA'S LEADING MANUFACTURER OF CIGARETTES ©A.T.C.

Figure 181: Lucky Strike 1954 Campus Cigarette⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁸ *The Orange and White*, January 14, 1954



Figure 182: Chesterfield 1954 Campus Cigarette⁶⁰⁹

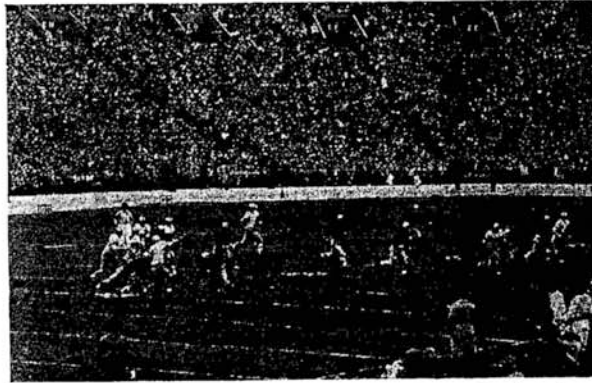


Figure 183: Lucky Strike 1957 Campus Cigarette⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁹ *The Orange and White*, January 14, 1954

⁶¹⁰ *The Orange and White*, October 25, 1957

CHESTERFIELD, L&M and OASIS invite you to the Kentucky-Tennessee Game Contest!



**JUST PREDICT
THE SCORE
AND WIN UP TO...**

\$300

FIRST PRIZE JACKPOT

\$150

SECOND PRIZE JACKPOT

\$50

THIRD PRIZE JACKPOT

**FOR THE STUDENTS AND
FACULTIES OF THE ABOVE
COMPETING COLLEGES ONLY!**

Pick up a pack and take a crack at experting the big game. If you are the only one to come up with the correct half-time and final scores, the first prize jackpot is all yours. If there are ties, you share the money. The same applies to winners of the second and third jackpots. Enter as often as you like ... and to make it easy, use the backs of packs* as your entry blanks. So each time you finish a pack ... take a crack at the big money!

HERE'S ALL YOU DO TO WIN...

1. Predict the final score for each team.
2. Predict the half-time score for each team.
3. Use an empty pack* as your entry blank.

READ THESE EASY RULES...

1. On the inside cover or on the back of an empty wrapper or on a plain sheet of paper, send the winner of the above game. Predict the final score and the half-time score (round off if necessary). Each entry must be accompanied by an empty wrapper from L&M, Chesterfield or Oasis cigarette (or a single hard blown copy of the winning L&M, Chesterfield or Oasis as it appears on the back of the package). If entry is submitted on back of empty wrapper, be sure to include name and address, printed clearly.

2. Mail entries to Liggett & Myers, at the address appearing in coupon below. All entries must be postmarked by midnight five days prior to date of game and received by midnight the day prior to date of game. Enter as often as you want, but be sure to enclose an empty wrapper (or acceptable substitute) with each entry. Multiple entries will not be considered.

3. Prizes: FIRST PRIZE JACKPOT—\$300; SECOND PRIZE JACKPOT—\$150; THIRD PRIZE JACKPOT—\$50. Winning entries will be selected according to the accuracy of the entry against the following in the order listed: (a) the winning

team; (b) the final score, and, as a tie-breaker, if necessary (c) the accuracy in determining the leading half-time team and the half-time score. In the event of ties among contestants, the prize money for each of the three prize categories will be divided equally among contestants tied for the respective prize.

4. This contest is under the supervision of the British, American Cigarettes, an independent judging organization, whose decisions are final and binding on all contestants. Only one prize per family.

5. This contest is open to the college students and college faculty members of the above competing colleges only. Employees and members of their families of Liggett & Myers Tobacco Company and its subsidiaries are not eligible to enter.

6. All entries become the property of the sponsor, and will be returned, unless written request is made by mail. A coupon out of which is available to anyone sending a stamped, self-addressed envelope to the address below.

7. This contest is subject to all Federal, State and local laws and regulations governing contests and their validity.

START SAVING PACKS NOW!

The more often you enter, the more chances you have to win!



L & M has found the secret that unlocks flavor in a filter cigarette. (Pack or Box).
© Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co.



CHESTERFIELD—Now "Air-Softened", they satisfy even more! (King or Regular).



OASIS—Most refreshing taste of all. Just enough mellow... just enough!
*For acceptable substitute (see rules).

Write clearly the final score and half-time score of this game to be played November 16, 1960 in boxes indicated:

	FINAL	HALF-TIME
KENTUCKY	()	()
TENNESSEE	()	()

Mail this entry to:
LIGGETT & MYERS, P. O. BOX 118, NEW YORK 40, N. Y.
Attach an empty pack (or acceptable substitute, see rules) of L&M, Chesterfield or Oasis cigarettes with this entry.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____

Entries must be submitted not later than midnight November 14, 1960, and received at the above P. O. Box in New York by midnight November 16, 1960. Submit as many more entries as you want on the backs of empty packs.* On each one print the team names and scores with your name and address as shown above.

Figure 184: Chesterfield/L&M/Oasis 1960 Campus Cigarette⁶¹¹

⁶¹¹ The Orange and White, October 21, 1960

WINNERS

VICEROY FOOTBALL CONTEST No. 2

(For games played Saturday, Oct. 21)



**1st
Prize
\$100.00
CASH!**

Chuck Carter, Industrial Engineering major, Class of '62 (photo at left), walked away with Viceroy's first hundred bucks prize money by getting all the winners right, and hitting four out of ten scores on the nose! Jerry Marshall Hale, '64, took second prize money (\$50), and Jerry Jackson, '62, got the third prize of \$25. (Winners of Contests 3 and 4 will be announced soon.)

20 PRIZES OF \$10 EACH WON BY THESE STUDENTS ON CAMPUS!

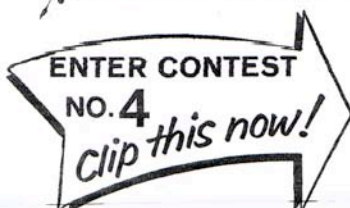
TOM N. AUSTIN, JR.
TED BRIDGES
STEVEN M. BUTLER
WILLARD CABR
GARY L. CORMANY

ALLEN FISCHER
JERRY ANN GRUBB
WILLIAM M. JENKINS
JOE NUNLEY JONES
HAROLD M. LOY

EDDY McALISTER
DAVID McLAIN
JERRY L. MILESAP
TOMMY OVERTON
MRS. JOYCE SHERROD PEARSON

BARRY L. ROGERS
MILTON SMITH
EDDIE SUMMEES
JACK E. WILLIAMS
JERRY WILLIAMS

Plus—A carton of Viceroy's to all students who got all the winners right, regardless of scores!



Here Are the Contest Rules:

1. Any student or faculty member on this campus may enter except employees of Brown & Williamson, its advertising agencies, or members of their immediate families. All entries become the property of Brown & Williamson—none will be returned. Winners will be notified within three weeks after each contest. Winners' names may be published in this newspaper. You may enter as often as you wish, provided each entry is sent individually. Contest subject to all governmental regulations. Entries must be postmarked or dropped in ballot box on campus no later than the Wednesday midnight before the games are played and received by noon Friday of the same week. The right to discontinue future contests is reserved.
2. Entries must be in contestant's own name. On the coupon in this ad or on an Official Entry Blank or piece of paper of the same size and format, write your predictions of the scores of the games and check the winners. Enclose an empty Viceroy package or a reasonable rendition of the Viceroy name as it appears on the package front. Mail entry to Viceroy at the Box Number on the entry blank, or drop in Viceroy Football Contest Ballot Box on campus.
3. Entries will be judged by The Rinehart H. Donnelly Corp., on the basis of number of winners correctly predicted. Ties will be broken on the basis of scores predicted. Duplicate prizes awarded in case of final ties.
4. Winners are eligible for any prize in subsequent contests.

(Attach Viceroy package or facsimile here)

Viceroy College Football CONTEST NO. 4

Here are my predictions for next Saturday's games.
Send my prize money to:

NAME _____ CLASS _____
(PLEASE PRINT PLAINLY)

ADDRESS _____

WIN	SCORE	WIN	SCORE
<input type="checkbox"/> Tennessee	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Mississippi	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Georgia	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Auburn	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Clemson	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Furman	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Princeton	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Yale	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Michigan	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Iowa	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Army	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Oklahoma	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> L. S. U.	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Mississippi St.	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Stanford	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Washington St.	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Notre Dame	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Syracuse	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Pittsburgh	_____	<input type="checkbox"/> So. California	_____

Contest open ONLY TO STUDENTS AND FACULTY ON THIS CAMPUS.
Mail before midnight, Nov. 15, to: Viceroy, Box 97-C, Mt. Vernon 10, New York

Figure 185: Viceroy 1961 Campus Cigarette⁶¹²

⁶¹² *The Orange and White*, November 10, 1961

Copyright 1934, R. J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO COMPANY



AFTER "TIRING" WORK—

CHARLES STEPHENS, JR., '35—pre-medical.
He says: "I've followed the recent scientific investigations which confirm Camel's 'energizing effect.' But I already knew from my own personal experience that Camels lift up my energy and enable me to tackle the next assignment with renewed vigor. It has been definitely established that Camels are a milder cigarette."

GET A LIFT WITH A CAMEL!

Throw off that tired feeling this quick and enjoyable way! Pull out a Camel—light up—enjoy its rich, pleasing taste. Before many minutes have passed you feel a harmless and delightful renewal of your energy. Join those who are finding a new pleasure in smoking as they "get a lift with a Camel!" Smoke steadily? Of course! Camels are made from finer, MORE EXPENSIVE TOBACCOS, and *do not get on the nerves!*

TUNE IN! CAMEL CARAVAN with Glen Gray's Casa Loma Orchestra, Walter O'Keefe, Annette Hanshaw, and other Headliners—over WABC, Columbia Network
TUESDAY, 10 p.m. E.S.T.—9 p.m. C.S.T.—8 p.m. M.S.T. 7 p.m. P.S.T. • THURSDAY, 9 p.m. E.S.T. 8 p.m. C.S.T. 9:30 p.m. M.S.T.—8:30 p.m. P.S.T.

GIRL EXPLORER. Mrs. William LeVare says: "Any time I'm tired I just stop and smoke a Camel. It wakes up my energy in no time. And here's an important point: Smoking Camels steadily, I find, does not affect one's nerves."

HOCKEY PLAYER. Bill Cook, Captain of the famous New York Rangers, says: "The way I guard my nerves and yet smoke all I want is to smoke only Camels. They have a taste that goes into the spot. I smoke a lot and I find that Camels never get on my nerves or tire my taste."




TOBACCO MEN ALL KNOW:
"Camels are made from finer, More Expensive Tobaccos—Turkish and Domestic—than any other popular brand."

CAMEL'S COSTLIER TOBACCOS NEVER GET ON YOUR NERVES!

Figure 186: Camel 1934 Study Buddies⁶¹³

⁶¹³ *Orange and White*, November 2, 1934

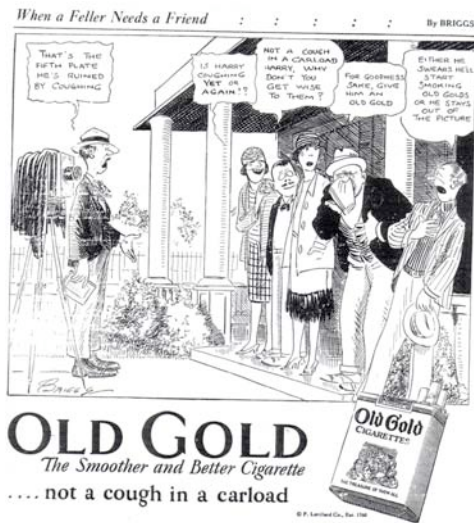


Figure 187: Old Gold 1928 Smoking and Health⁶¹⁴



Figure 188: Lucky Strike 1932 Smoking and Health⁶¹⁵

⁶¹⁴ *Orange and White*, November 15, 1928

Cary Grant says:
**"a light smoke rates aces high
 with my throat"**



"Luckies have been my cigarette for five years now. I rate them a 4 star cigarette. They're always good to the throat, and taste so much better than other cigarettes that it seems to me this 'Tasting' process is a real idea. Yes, a light smoke like Luckies rates aces high with both my throat and taste."

Cary Grant

APPEARING IN THE NEW
 COLUMBIA PICTURE, "WHEN YOU'RE IN LOVE"

An independent survey was made recently among professional men and women—lawyers, doctors, lecturers, scientists, etc. Of those who said they smoke cigarettes, more than 87% stated they personally prefer a light smoke.

Mr. Grant verifies the wisdom of this preference, and so do other leading artists of the radio, stage, screen and opera. Their voices are their fortunes. That's why so many of them smoke Luckies. You, too, can have the throat protection of Luckies—a light smoke, free of certain harsh irritants removed by the exclusive process "It's Toasted". Luckies are gentle on the throat.



A Light Smoke
"It's Toasted"—Your Throat Protection
 AGAINST IRRITATION—AGAINST COUGH

Figure 189: Lucky Strike 1937 Smoking and Health⁶¹⁶

**IT TAKES HEALTHY NERVES —
 TO PLAY CHAMPIONSHIP GOLF!**



DISCOVERING SMITH—Among players and players who he won the 1937 British Open over Dr. Samuel Smith, two famous and great smokers. Good smokers are those who know the difference between a good smoke and a bad one. "I have used all the brands, and long ago I found that Camels are healthy and safe. It is a great relief to me, for I am a steady smoker, and I am sure that if you are a steady smoker, you will find Camels the best and the only one that will keep you healthy and safe."

TONNY ARMOUR—Often called "Wizard of the Links," Armour has won a total of 13 championships, including the U.S. Open in 1922 and the British Open in 1925. Tony knows the golf and his cigarette. "I have used all the brands, and long ago I found that Camels are healthy and safe. It is a great relief to me, for I am a steady smoker, and I am sure that if you are a steady smoker, you will find Camels the best and the only one that will keep you healthy and safe."

GENE SARAZEN—This great golfer began his winning career in 1911 when he became U.S. Open Champion. He has been a consistent champion winner ever since. This year he won his third U.S. Open, Championship. On the subject of cigarettes, Sarazen says: "I prefer Camels and I think of Camels. They are the only cigarettes that I can smoke and still keep my nerves steady and my mind clear. They are the only cigarettes that I can smoke and still keep my nerves steady and my mind clear."

Steady Smokers turn to Camels

Men and women whose work and play demands healthy nerves and level heads prefer Camels. Active people agree that they can smoke the fine-tasted, milder cigarettes without fear of jangling their nerves.

Another thing about active people—they are generally steady smokers. And, as anyone who smokes Camels will tell you, you can smoke as many of these cigarettes as you want—and never have a "cigarette" aftertaste. The last cigarette at night tastes as good as the first in the morning, if you smoke Camels.

Try a package of Camels today... Enjoy the superior flavor of their milder tobacco. If you are a steady smoker you will appreciate the fact that Camels never get on your nerves, never tire your taste.

IT IS MORE FUN TO KNOW
 Camels are made from finer, MORE EXPENSIVE tobaccos than any other popular brand. You will find Camels rich in flavor and delightfully mild.



CAMEL'S COSTLIER TOBACCOS
 NEVER GET ON YOUR NERVES...NEVER TIRE YOUR TASTE

Figure 190: Camel 1937 Smoking and Health⁶¹⁷

⁶¹⁵ *Orange and White*, May 17, 1932

⁶¹⁶ *Orange and White*, February 26, 1937

⁶¹⁷ *Orange and White*, February 26, 1937

ATHLETES SAY:
"THEY DON'T GET YOUR WIND"

CARL HUBBELL, star pitcher of the New York Giants. "Camels are so mild," he says, "they never get my wind or ruffle my nerves."

SAM HOWARD, the high-diving champion, says: "I can smoke Camels all I want to and keep in perfect 'condition.' Camels are so mild. They never get my wind. And when tired a Camel gives me new energy."

SUSAN VILAS, the free-style swimming champion: "I've discovered that Camels are mild. They don't cut down my wind. Camels are so full of rich, smooth taste, they must be made from more expensive tobaccos."

GEORGE M. LOTT, JR., tennis star, says: "Camels never take the edge off my condition or get my wind, because they are mild. I understand more expensive tobaccos are used in Camels. That accounts for their mildness!"

GEORGE BARKER, the former intercollegiate track star: "A cross-country runner has to keep in shape. I've learned one thing about cigarettes — Camels are mild. They don't get my wind, and they never bother my nerves."

CARL HUBBELL, a Camel smoker for many years, caught in action on the diamond! He says: "Camels have flavor, plus mildness — a rare combination. And they never get my wind. I'd walk a mile for a Camel!"

BILL MEHLHORN, the star golfer, adds this timely word: "I've got to keep fit to compete in tournament golf. I can smoke Camels steadily. From years of experience I know they won't get my wind or jangle my nerves."

YOU'LL LIKE THEIR MILDNESS TOO

Healthy nerves, sound wind, abundant energy are important to you too. So note the comments famous athletes make on Camels. Because Camels are so mild... made from costlier tobaccos... you can smoke them all you please. Athletes have found that Camels don't jangle the nerves or get the wind. And you'll never tire of their appealing flavor.

SO MILD YOU CAN SMOKE ALL YOU WANT

CAMELS

COSTLIER TOBACCOS!

Camels are made from finer, MORE EXPENSIVE TOBACCOS — Turkish and Domestic — than any other popular brand.

(Signed)
R. J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO CO.
Winston-Salem, N. C.

© 1935, R. J. Reynolds Tob. Co.

Figure 191: Camel 1935 Smoking and Health⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁸ *Orange and White*, October 11, 1935

Review
The Michigan State College R.O.T.C. presents an imposing spectacle when all of its units assemble on the parade ground for a review. The cavalry troop is in the foreground, while the infantry is to the left, with the college's football stadium in the background.



For Digestion's Sake — Smoke Camels

EXAMS AND QUIZZES not so tough with Camels! Smoking Camels eases tension and aids digestion too. Enjoy your meals and afterwards get a "lift" with a Camel. Camels do not get on your nerves or tire your taste. Camels set you right!



Smoking Camels encourages a proper flow of digestive fluids...increases alkalinity...brings a sense of well-being

YOU eat over a thousand meals a year! Food is varied. Place and time often differ. Sometimes you are free of care—at other times, worried and tense. Yet, thanks to Camels, you can help digestion meet these changing conditions easily. Smoking Camels speeds up the flow of fluids that start diges-

Copyright 1936, R. J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO COMPANY, WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEEP INTO THE BIG WOODS on a hunting trip. No luxuries here, as "Herb" Welch—famous Maine Guide—makes noon camp and serves up beans, johnny-cake, and coffee hot from the camp-fire coals, winding up with Camels all around. Hearty appetites welcome Camels. "Herb" says: "Anything that goes into the woods with me has to earn its way. Camels more than earn theirs. No matter what I'm eating, it always tastes better and digests better when I smoke Camels."



ROUTES 100 TRAINS A DAY. Train dispatcher H. M. Wright says: "I have to have healthy nerves and good digestion. Camels do not get on my nerves. And they insure a sense of digestive well-being."

COSTLIER TOBACCOS!

Camels are made from finer, **MORE EXPENSIVE TOBACCOS**—Turkish and Domestic—than any other popular brand.

HOLLYWOOD RADIO TREAT!

Camel Cigarettes bring you a FULL HOUR'S ENTERTAINMENT! Benny Goodman's "Swing" Band... George Szeil's Concert Orchestra... Hollywood Guest Stars... and Rupert Hughes presides! Tuesday—9:30 p.m. E.S.T. 8:30 p.m. C.S.T. 7:30 p.m. S.T. 6:30 p.m. P.S.T. over WABC-Columbia Network.



GLIDER CHAMPION. Petite Dorothy Holderman says: "Imagine how gliding affects digestion! It's up and down for hours. But, sense I may get, a few Camels seem to bring my digestion right back."

Figure 192: Camel 1936 Smoking and Health⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁹ *Orange and White*, December 4, 1936

We're tobacco men... not medicine men... **OLD GOLDS** are made for enjoyment!

Frankly, we're bewildered as you are by all the hoop-la about laboratories, tests, and medical claims. We agree: a cigarette is supposed to give you *pleasure*. Period.

And your *pleasure* is the sole aim of the advanced scientific techniques we use in the making of OLD GOLDS . . . the best, deepest, richest smoking pleasure you've ever found in a cigarette!

If that's what you're after . . . if top-quality tobaccos at the peak of flavor are your idea of a perfect cigarette . . . then OLD GOLDS are your answer. Try 'em—for *pleasure's* sake!



If you want a **TREAT**
instead of a **TREATMENT**
...smoke **O.G.s!**

Made by L. & L. & L., a famous name in tobacco for nearly 200 years

Figure 195: Old Gold 1947 Smoking and Health⁶²²

⁶²² *The Orange and White*, March 12, 1947

NOSE, THROAT,

and Accessory Organs not Adversely Affected by Smoking Chesterfields

FIRST SUCH REPORT EVER PUBLISHED ABOUT ANY CIGARETTE

A responsible consulting organization has reported the results of a continuing study by a competent medical specialist and his staff on the effects of smoking Chesterfield cigarettes.

A group of people in the various walks of life was selected to smoke only Chesterfields for six months. The group of men and women smoked three Chesterfields a day for 180 to 400 a day. After six months, the medical specialist reported that the group had no adverse effects on the nose, throat and accessory organs of all participating subjects as caused by the use of any other cigarette.

At the beginning of the study, the subjects were given a physical examination, including X-ray pictures by the medical specialist and his assistants. The examination covered the nose as well as the mouth, throat and throat.

The medical specialist, after a thorough examination of every member of the group, stated: "It is my opinion that the nose, throat and accessory organs of all participating subjects examined by me were not adversely affected in the six-month period by smoking the cigarette product."

ALL YOUR DEALER FOR CHESTERFIELD—BETTER WAY YOU USE THEM

CONTAINS TOBACCO OF BETTER QUALITY & HIGHER PRICE THAN ANY OTHER CIGARETTE

Buy CHESTERFIELD Much Milder

Figure 196: Chesterfield 1952 Smoking and Health⁶²³

SMOKERS BY THE THOUSANDS NOW CHANGING TO CHESTERFIELD

the ONLY cigarette ever to give you...

1 PROOF of LOW NICOTINE HIGHEST QUALITY

The country's six leading cigarette brands were analyzed—chemically—and CHESTERFIELD was found low in nicotine—highest in quality.

2 A PROVEN RECORD with smokers

Again and again, over a full year and a half a group of Chesterfield smokers have been given thorough medical examinations... the doctor's reports are a matter of record. "No adverse effects in the nose, throat and accessory organs from smoking Chesterfields." A responsible independent research laboratory reports this continuing program.

CHESTERFIELD BEST FOR YOU

Figure 197: Chesterfield 1953 Smoking and Health⁶²⁴

⁶²³ *The Orange and White*, November 6, 1952

⁶²⁴ *The Orange and White*, October 1, 1953



Figure 198: L&M 1954 Smoking and Health⁶²⁵



Figure 199: Viceroy 1958 Smoking and Health⁶²⁶

⁶²⁵ *The Orange and White*, November 18, 1954

⁶²⁶ *The Orange and White*, March 29, 1958

Somebody Is Always Taking the Joy Out of Life

By BRIGGS



OLD GOLD
The Smoother and Better Cigarette
 not a cough in a carload



© 1927, P. Lorillard Co., Est. 1760

Figure 200: Old Gold 1934 Advertorials/Cartoons⁶²⁷

⁶²⁷ *Orange and White*, November 2, 1934



"YOU WOULDN'T TURN A DOG OUT ON A NIGHT LIKE THIS!" wailed NELL

"But father, with his slick city ways and perfumed hair, he turned my head . . ."

"Out ye go!" roared the irascible old yeoman . . . "any gal of mine that gives away the last of my smoother and better OLD GOLDS suffers the consequences. Down to the corner store with ye, and bring back a fresh carton or never darken my doorstep again!"

OLD GOLD



FASTEST GROWING CIGARETTE IN HISTORY. . . NOT A COUGH IN A CARLOAD

On your Radio . . . OLD GOLD—PAUL WHITEMAN HOUR. Paul Whiteman and complete orchestra . . . every Tuesday, 9 to 10 P. M., Eastern Standard Time

© P. Lorillard Co.

Figure 201: Old Gold 1930 Advertorials/Cartoons⁶²⁸

⁶²⁸ *Orange and White*, March 6, 1930



Figure 202: Old Gold 1935 Advertorials/Cartoons⁶²⁹



Figure 203: Old Gold 1935 Advertorials/Cartoons⁶³⁰

⁶²⁹ *Orange and White*, February 15, 1935

⁶³⁰ *Orange and White*, March 29, 1935

It's Fun to be Fooled.. **TODAY'S SHOW MYSTERIOUS BALL ROLLS UPHILL**

1 I SAW A MAGICIAN MAKE A BALL ROLL UPHILL LAST NIGHT...WITHOUT TOUCHING IT. HE WAS SIMPLY WONDERFUL

2 **WHAT SHE SAW—** THE PERFORMER MAKES A BALL DEFY GRAVITY AND ROLL UP AN INCLINE AT HIS BIDDING. IT PAUSES... ROLLS DOWN... ROLLS UP AGAIN... OBEYING EVERY ORDER OF THE MAGICIAN.

3 DID HE DO IT BY RADIO REMOTE CONTROL OR THOUGHT WAVES? THAT'S THE BUNK GRACE. HERE'S THE REAL LOW-DOWN...

4 THE MAGICIAN DIDN'T HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH MAKING THE BALL PERFORM. THERE WAS A CONTORTIONIST INSIDE IT. BY SHIFTING HIS WEIGHT IN THE BALL, HE MADE IT GO.

5

6 MY GOODNESS BUT YOU'RE SMART, JOE. WON'T YOU HAVE A CIGARETTE? EXCUSE ME. I DON'T LIKE YOUR BRAND

7 BUT ISN'T THIS THE MILDEST KIND? THAT'S ANOTHER ILLUSION. DON'T YOU KNOW THAT IT'S THE TOBACCO THAT COUNTS? HERE, HAVE ONE OF MY CAMELS.

8 JOE, YOUR CAMEL IS Milder AND I LOVE THE TASTE, TOO. "IT'S MORE FUN TO KNOW" ISN'T IT?

CAMELS are made from finer, MORE EXPENSIVE tobaccos than any other popular brand. They are mild...easy on the throat. They give you more pleasure. Try Camels.

No tricks—just costlier tobaccos in Camels

Copyright, 1933, H. J. Harwood Tobacco Company

Figure 204: Camel 1933 Advertorials/Cartoons⁶³¹

⁶³¹ *Orange and White*, April 11, 1933

Campus Interviews on Cigarette Tests

Number 15...THE LONG-WATTLED UMBRELLA BIRD



*"They must think
I don't have enough sense—
to get out of the rain!"*

It made L. W. madder than a wet hen when they asked him to judge cigarette mildness by taking one puff, one huff, one whiff or one sniff. Our common sense friend enjoys a good smoke too much ever to settle on any brand in such a snap-judgment way! For him and for millions like him, there's only one convincing way to test cigarette mildness.

It's the Sensible Test . . . the 30-Day Camel Mildness Test, which simply asks you to try Camels as your steady smoke—on a pack after pack, day after day basis. No snap judgments needed! After you've enjoyed Camels—and only Camels—for 30 days in your "T-Zone" (T for Throat, T for Taste), we believe you will know why . . .

**More People Smoke Camels
than any other cigarette!**




Figure 205: Camel 1951 Advertorials/Cartoons⁶³²

⁶³² *The Orange and White*, March 30, 1951



Figure 206: Camel 1952 Advertorials/Cartoons⁶³³



Figure 207: Camel 1958 Advertorials/Cartoons⁶³⁴

⁶³³ *The Orange and White*, October 30, 1952

⁶³⁴ *The Orange and White*, November 14, 1958

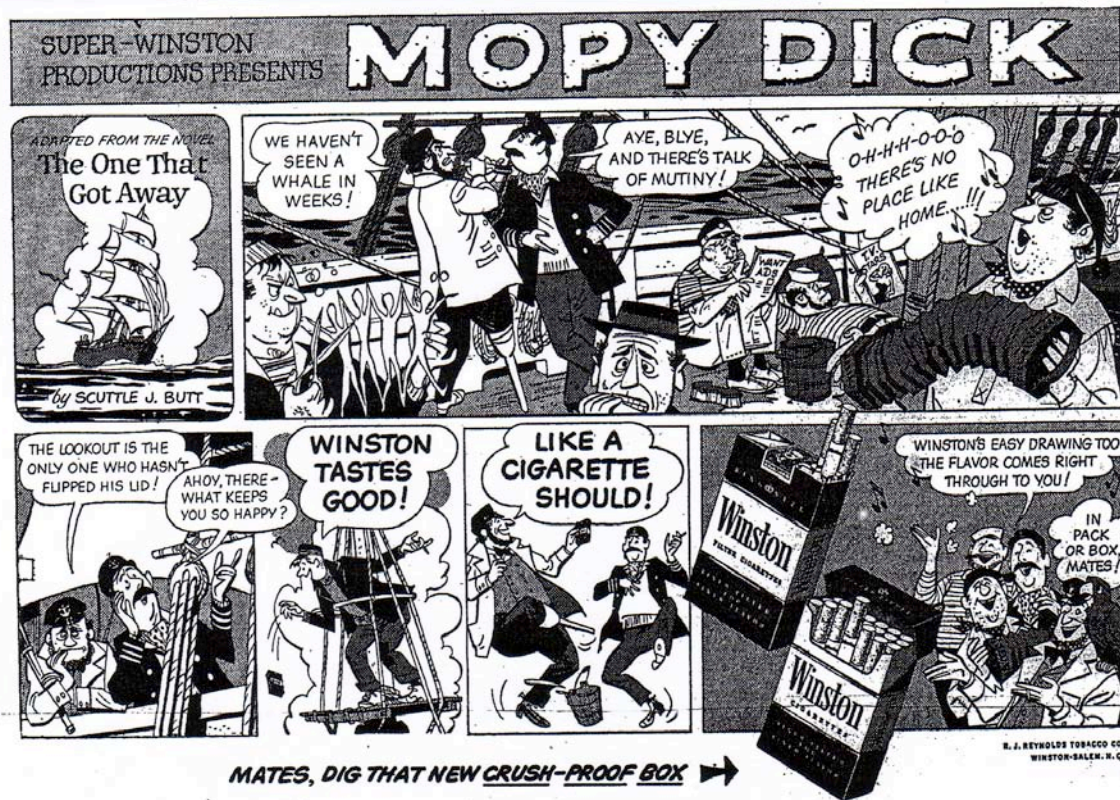
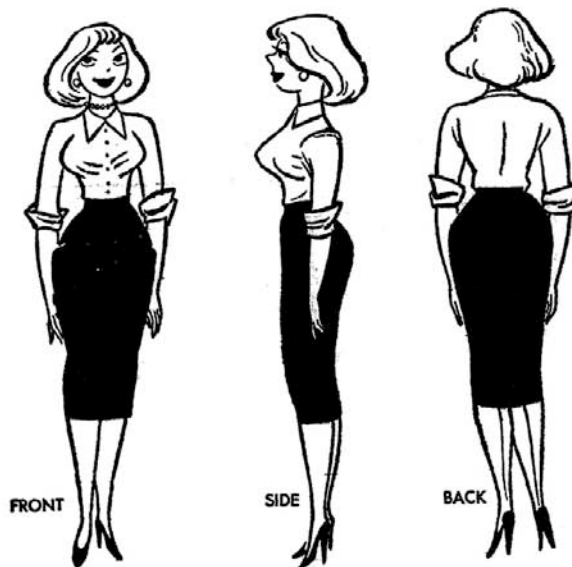


Figure 208: Winston 1958 Advertorials/Cartoons⁶³⁵

⁶³⁵ *The Orange and White*, November 14, 1958

Girl Watcher's Guide

Presented by Pall Mall Famous Cigarettes



Three views of an average, healthy girl

LESSON 1 - How to recognize a girl

It is not surprising, in these days of constantly changing fashion standards, that girls are often mistaken for men.

Certain popular items of apparel, such as slacks, baggy sweaters and boxy suits, contribute to this unfortunate situation. Therefore, we suggest that new students of girl watching start with the fundamentals (see above diagram). As you can see, girls are easiest

to identify from the side. However, even the beginner will soon achieve proficiency from front and rear as well.

Advanced students can usually tell a girl from a man at five hundred paces, even when both are wearing asbestos firefighting suits. (You might try offering the subject a Pall Mall, but you won't prove anything. It's an extremely popular brand with both sexes.)

WHY BE AN AMATEUR? JOIN THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF GIRL WATCHERS NOW!

FREE MEMBERSHIP CARD. Visit the editorial office of this publication for a free membership card in the world's only society devoted to discreet, but relentless, girl watching. Constitution of the society on reverse side of card.

This ad based on the book, "The Girl Watcher's Guide." Text: Copyright by Donald J. Sauters. Drawings: Copyright by Eldon Dedlin. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Brothers.

© 1962 Product of The American Tobacco Company - "Pall Mall" is our middle name



**Pall Mall's
natural mildness
is so good
to your taste!**

**So smooth, so satisfying,
so downright smokeable!**

Figure 209: Pall Mall 1962 Advertorials/Cartoons⁶³⁶

⁶³⁶ *The Orange and White*, January 12, 1962

LUCKY STRIKE
presents:

LUCKY TUFFERS

"SATURDAY NIGHT"

"Does he have to walk on his hands at every party?"

"Let's step outside and have a smoke, baby!"

"Why do you keep looking at me like that, George?"

"Never go down there alone, Gladys that's Fraternity Row!"

WHAT HAPPENS ON CAMPUS SATURDAY NIGHT? If you could peek into an average campus on Saturday night you would see students planning a hunger strike and smoking Luckies, ironing their Sunday suits and smoking Luckies, playing dominoes and smoking Luckies. College students smoke Luckies all the time—and more of them than any other regular cigarette. If you go to college, you should smoke Luckies. It's expected of you.

CHANGE TO LUCKIES and get some taste for a change!

Product of *The American Tobacco Company*—"Tobacco is our middle name"

Figure 210: Lucky Strike 1961 Advertorials/Comics⁶³⁷

⁶³⁷ *The Orange and White*, November 2, 1961



ANOTHER YEAR, ANOTHER DOLLAR

With today's entry I begin my ninth year of writing columns in your school newspaper for the makers of Marlboro Cigarettes.

Nine years, I believe you will agree, is a long time. In fact, it took only a little longer than nine years to dig the Suez Canal, and you know what a gigantic undertaking that was! To be sure, the work would have gone more rapidly had the shovel been invented at that time, but, as we all know, the shovel was not invented until 1946 by Walter H. Shovel of Cleveland, Ohio. Before Mr. Shovel's discovery in 1946, all digging was done with sugar tongues—a method unquestionably dainty but hardly what one would call rapid. There were, naturally, many efforts made to speed up digging before Mr. Shovel's breakthrough—notably an attempt in 1912 by the immortal Thomas Alva Edison to dig with the phonograph, but the only thing that happened was that he got his horn full of sand. This so depressed Mr. Edison that he fell into a fit of melancholy from which he did not emerge until two years later when his friend William Wordsworth, the eminent nature poet, cheered him up by imitating a duck for four and a half hours.

But I digress. For nine years, I say, I have been writing this column for the makers of Marlboro Cigarettes, and for nine years they have been paying me money. You are shocked. You think that anyone who has tasted Marlboro's unparalleled flavor, who has enjoyed Marlboro's filter, who has revelled in Marlboro's jolly red and white pack or box should be more than willing to write about Marlboro without a penny's compensation. You are wrong.

Compensation is the very foundation stone of the American Way of Life. Whether you love your work or hate it, our system absolutely requires that you be paid for it. For example, I have a friend named Rex Glebe, a veterinarian by profession, who simply adores to worm dogs. I mean you can call him up and say, "Hey, Rex, let's go bowl a few lines," or "Hey, Rex, let's go flatten some pennies on the railroad tracks," and he will always reply, "No, thanks. I better stay here in case somebody wants a dog wormed." I mean there is not one thing in the whole world you can name that Rex likes better than worming a dog. But even so, Rex always sends a bill for worming your dog because in his wisdom he knows that to do otherwise would be to rend, possibly irreparably, the fabric of democracy.



It's the same with me and Marlboro Cigarettes. I think Marlboro's flavor represents the pinnacle of the tobaccoist's art. I think Marlboro's filter represents the pinnacle of the filter-maker's art. I think Marlboro's pack and box represent the pinnacle of the packager's art. I think Marlboro is a pleasure and a treasure, and I fairly burst with pride that I have been chosen to speak for Marlboro on your campus. All the same, I want my money every week. And the makers of Marlboro understand this full well. They don't like it, but they understand it.

In the columns which follow this opening installment, I will turn the hot white light of truth on the pressing problems of campus life—the many and varied dilemmas which beset the undergraduate—burning questions like "Should Chaucer classrooms be converted to parking garages?" and "Should proctors be given a saliva test?" and "Should foreign exchange students be held for ransom?"

And in these columns, while grappling with the crises that vex campus America, I will make occasional brief mention of Marlboro Cigarettes. If I do not, the makers will not give me any money.

The makers of Marlboro will bring you this uncensored, free-style column 26 times throughout the school year. During this period it is not unlikely that Old Max will step on some toes—principally ours—but we think it's all in fun and we hope you will too.

Figure 211: Marlboro 1962 Advertorials/Cartoon⁶³⁸

⁶³⁸ *The Orange and White*, September 12, 1962

KOOL CROSSWORD

No. 16

- ACROSS**
- Hot compress for cold student
 - Deadly talks
 - It's Scuttled in Texas
 - He didn't buy a balcony ticket
 - Coin changes religiously
 - Land of secure
 - Muggins
 - He ran with Adlai
 - Quiet, rest!
 - My step
 - Unlucky-taxed danger!
 - Kate too small to get your teeth in
 - Plush
 - pushy blue
 - Water boy's burden
 - She starts sweet's action
 - Harvard risk
 - Work free
 - Statue's shade
 - King-size Koole have a filter
 - Also --- divine
 - Wetly
 - Hand personation
 - Kwai baby
 - Proverbial hottidays
 - Kind of gone
 - They could be eaten
 - Me, myself and I
 - Pudding
 - Kind of gal some like
- DOWN**
- Chew, a little childishly
 - Puerto's last name
 - Helping
 - Knock are
 - Halp! Waw! Buckle!
 - Switch from
 - They're really lovers
 - Kind of gram or phone
 - Disco
 - Date who's all arms
 - Kind of Vogue
 - Nadar talk
 - Start of Ivy League
 - Adding a gal just like her
 - Co. in France
 - DDE's professor
 - You pay 'em what you see
 - Stuffer with a hunger
 - Poke rough, this amiable
 - Performance, while rocking!
 - Mine Pin.
 - You said it, Puss!
 - Kind of boyish
 - Knock are
 - bear that!
 - Bussie's cousin
 - Half a hour



- ★ ★ ★
- As cool and clean as a breath of fresh air.
 - Finest leaf tobacco... mild refreshing menthol... and the world's most thoroughly tested filter!
 - With every puff your mouth feels clean, your throat refreshed!

America's Most Refreshing Cigarette

... ALSO REGULAR SIZE KOOL WITHOUT FILTER
©1960, Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp.



Figure 212: Kool 1960 Advertorials/Cartoon⁶³⁹

⁶³⁹ *The Orange and White*, May 27, 1960

“I was afraid Grandfather would be *Shocked*..

“HIS rather a bossy old darling,
and I didn't know how he'd
like the idea of my smoking.

“The first time I lit a Chesterfield
in front of him, he sniffed like an
old war-horse...and I braced myself
for trouble. But all he said was,
‘That's good tobacco, Chickabiddy.’

“You know Grandfather raised
tobacco in his younger days, so he
knows what's what. I don't, of course
—but I *do* know that Chesterfields
are milder. It's wonderful to be
able to smoke whenever you want,
with no fear you'll smoke too many.

“And it doesn't take a tobacco
expert to prove that Chesterfield
tobaccos are better. They *taste* bet-
ter...that's proof enough. Never
too sweet. No matter when I smoke
them...or how many I smoke...
they always taste exactly right.

“They must be absolutely pure...
even to the paper which doesn't
taste at all. In fact...as the ads
say...‘They Satisfy!’”

© Wrapped in Du Pont Number 300 Moisture-proof
Cellophane...the best and most expensive model



© 1932, LIGGETT &
MEYER TOBACCO CO.



**CHESTERFIELD'S
RADIO PROGRAM**
Nat Shilkret's Orchestra and
Alex Gray, well-known soloist,
will entertain you over the
Columbia Coast-to-Coast Net-
work every night, except Sun-
day, at 10:30 P. M. E. S. T.

THEY'RE Milder • • THEY'RE Pure • • THEY TASTE BETTER • • *They Satisfy*

Figure 213: Chesterfield 1932 Promotional Advertising⁶⁴⁰

⁶⁴⁰ *Orange and White*, February 19, 1932



Figure 214: Chesterfield 1932 Promotional Advertising⁶⁴¹



Figure 215: Chesterfield 1937 Promotional Advertising⁶⁴²

⁶⁴¹ *Orange and White*, April 29, 1932

⁶⁴² *Orange and White*, May 7, 1937

NEW! CAMEL CARAVAN

			
WALTER O'KEEFE MASTERFUL MASTER OF CEREMONIES—SINGING COMEDIAN—STAR OF LAUGH-COMPELLING DRAMAS—WALTER IS MORE FUN THAN EVER ON THE NEW CAMEL CARAVAN.	DEANE JANIS YOUNG—BEAUTIFUL—EXCITING—THE NEW SINGING SENSATION OF THE AIR. ROMANTIC MELODY IS HER CONTRIBUTION TO THIS NEW ALL-STAR CAMEL CARAVAN.	TED HUSING HERE'S RADIO'S FAMOUS SPORTS COMMENTATOR WITH THE "INSIDE DOPE" ON THE BIG SPORTS EVENTS. FOLLOW HIS REVIEWS AND PREDICTIONS ON THE CAMEL CARAVAN.	GLEN GRAY AND THE CASA LOMA BAND BACK AGAIN—WITH THE HIT TUNES OF THE DAY. CATCHY RHYTHMS! ORIGINAL ORCHESTRATIONS! THESE COLLEAGUE FAVORITES TURNISH THRILLING MUSIC FOR THE CAMEL CARAVAN.

NOW BROADCASTING!

BEGINNING TUESDAY, OCTOBER 1ST AND EVERY **TUESDAY** AND **THURSDAY**

9:00 P.M. EASTERN TIME

8:00 P.M. CENTRAL TIME

9:30 P.M. MOUNTAIN TIME

8:30 P.M. PACIFIC TIME

OVER COAST-TO-COAST **WABC—COLUMBIA NETWORK**

and remember THAT CAMELS, WHICH OFFER THIS ALL-STAR PROGRAM FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT, ARE MADE FROM FINER, MORE EXPENSIVE TOBACCOS—TURKISH AND DOMESTIC—THAN ANY OTHER POPULAR BRAND

Copyright, 1935, R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, Winston-Salem, N. C.

"GET A LIFT WITH A CAMEL!"



Figure 216: Camel 1935 Promotional Advertising⁶⁴³

⁶⁴³ *Orange and White*, October 25, 1935

NEW HIT ON
THE RADIO!

"Jack Oakie's College"



Copyright, 1937, R. J. ReYNOLDS Tobacco Company, Winston-Salem, N. C.
"Dean" Oakie, the distinguished Hollywood educator, photographed in the full glory of his academic robes, ready to dish out a lecture.

*It's a riot—it's unbelievable
—it's Oakie at his best!*

Also BENNY GOODMAN'S "Swing" Band,
GEORGE STOLL'S Concert Orchestra,
Hollywood comedians, and singing stars
—and—special talent from the colleges
every Tuesday night!

HERE'S college life, not as it is, but as it ought to be, according to Jack Oakie! Imagine Jack Oakie running a college. Think what would happen—and tune in on this notable occasion—the first radio series of this popular screen star. Along with Jack, you get Benny Goodman's "swing" rhythms, George Stoll's concert orchestra, guest stars broadcasting direct from Hollywood, and—here's news—special talent from the colleges every week. A sparkling full-hour show that you won't want to miss.

EVERY TUESDAY NIGHT

9:30 pm E. S. T., 8:30 pm C. S. T., 7:30 pm M. S. T., 6:30 pm P. S. T. WABC—CBS Network. JACK OAKIE, BENNY GOODMAN, GEORGE STOLL. Hollywood comedians and singing stars. Special college talent every week.

All offered for your
entertainment by

CAMELS

MADE FROM FINER, MORE EXPENSIVE TOBACCOS—TURKISH AND DOMESTIC—THAN ANY OTHER POPULAR BRAND.

Figure 217: Camel 1937 Promotional Advertising⁶⁴⁴

⁶⁴⁴ *Orange and White*, January 15, 1937



Figure 218: Phillip Morris 1947 Promotional Advertising⁶⁴⁵



Figure 219: Chesterfield 1948 Promotional Advertising⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴⁵ *The Orange and White*, December 10, 1947

⁶⁴⁶ *The Orange and White*, November 19, 1948

STOP WORRYING about cigarette irritation

REMEMBER:

PHILIP MORRIS . . . and only
Philip Morris . . . is entirely free of
a source of irritation used in all
other leading cigarettes!

**START SMOKING
FOR PLEASURE!**

PHILIP MORRIS gives you
MORE SMOKING PLEASURE
than any other leading brand.
Yes—YOU'LL BE GLAD TOMORROW,
YOU SMOKED PHILIP MORRIS TODAY!



You'll love
"I LOVE LUCY"
starring
LUCILLE BALL and DESI ARNAZ
The new TV laugh riot over CBS



**CALL
FOR PHILIP MORRIS**

Figure 220: Phillip Morris 1952 Promotional Advertising⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴⁷ *The Orange and White*, April 14, 1952

"None so good as LUCKIES"

"I've tried all cigarettes and there's none so good as LUCKIES. And incidentally I'm careful in my choice of cigarettes. I have to be because of my throat. Put me down as one who always reaches for a LUCKY. It's a real delight to find a Cellophane wrapper that opens without an ice pick."

Jean Harlow



Jean Harlow first set the screen ablaze in "Hell's Angels," the great air film, and she almost stole the show from a fleet of fifty planes. See her "Goldie," a Fox film and Columbia's "Platinum Blonde."

Made of the finest tobaccos — The Cream of many Crops — LUCKY STRIKE alone offers the throat protection of the exclusive "TOASTING" Process which includes the use of modern Ultra Violet Rays — the process that expels certain harsh, biting irritants naturally present in every tobacco leaf. These expelled irritants are not present in your LUCKY STRIKE. "They're out—so they can't be in!" No wonder LUCKIES are always kind to your throat.

"It's toasted"

Your Throat Protection—against irritation—against cough

And Moisture-Proof Cellophane Keeps that "Toasted" Flavor Ever Fresh

TUNE IN—The Lucky Strike Dance Orchestra, every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday evening over N. B. C. networks.

Copyright, 1931.
The American Tobacco Co.

★Is Miss Harlow's Statement Paid For?

You may be interested in knowing that not one cent was paid to Miss Harlow to make the above statement. Miss Harlow has been a smoker of LUCKY STRIKE cigarettes for 2 years. We hope the publicity herewith given will be as beneficial to her and to Fox and Columbia, her producers, as her endorsement of LUCKIES is to you and to us.



MOISTURE-PROOF CELLOPHANE Sealed Tight—Ever Right The Unique Humidor Package Zip—And it's open!



See the new notched tab on the top of the package. Hold down one half with your thumb. Tear off the other half. Simple. Quick. Zip! That's all. Unique! Wrapped in dust-proof, moisture-proof, germ-proof Cellophane. Clean, protected, neat, FRESH!—what could be more modern than LUCKIES' improved Humidor package—so easy to open! Ladies—the LUCKY TAB is—your finger nail protection.

Figure 221: Lucky Strike 1931 Legislation⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁸ *Orange and White*, October 29, 1931

Margaret Sullavan says Luckies are the answer for her throat



"I am not sure which is more critical—a Broadway audience or the movie microphones. At any rate, whether in Hollywood or New York, an actress has to be certain that her performances are always up to the peak. And that means being careful of the voice and throat. That's why, though I enjoy smoking thoroughly, I try to use judgment in the cigarette I choose. When I first began smoking, Luckies were my choice, because I found this light smoke advisable for my throat. And that's as true today as ever. Luckies are still my standby."

Margaret Sullavan

An independent survey was made recently among professional men and women—lawyers, doctors, lecturers, scientists, etc. Of those who said they smoke cigarettes, more than 87% stated they personally prefer a light smoke.

Miss Sullavan verifies the wisdom of this preference, and so do other leading artists of the radio, stage, screen and opera. Their voices are their fortunes. That's why so many of them smoke Luckies. You, too, can have the throat protection of Luckies—a light smoke, free of certain harsh irritants removed by the exclusive process "It's Toasted". Luckies are gentle on the throat.



THE FINEST TOBACCOS—
"THE CREAM OF THE CROP"

A Light Smoke "It's Toasted"—Your Throat Protection

AGAINST IRRITATION—AGAINST COUGH

Figure 222: Lucky Strike 1937 Legislation⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁹ *Orange and White*, April 11, 1937

VITA

Elizabeth Crisp Crawford was born in Green Bay, WI on November 14, 1977. She attended Notre Dame de la Baie Academy High School in Green Bay, WI and graduated with a High Honor G.P.A. She graduated magna cum laude from St. Norbert College in 1999 with a B.A. in Communication, Media & Theatre and minors in French and Spanish. Elizabeth attended the University of Salamanca in Salamanca, Spain and studied with IAU in Avignon, France. Elizabeth graduated summa cum laude from Marquette University in Milwaukee, WI in 2002 with a M.A. in Communication with emphases in Advertising/Public Relations and Intercultural Communication. She worked in professional training at Harley-Davidson Motor Co. and consumer marketing at *The Post-Crescent* in Appleton, WI. She will graduate from the University of Tennessee with a Ph.D. in Communication & Information in August of 2007. She will be an Assistant Professor in the Journalism Department at the University of Wisconsin – Oshkosh.